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## THE ART BULLETIN

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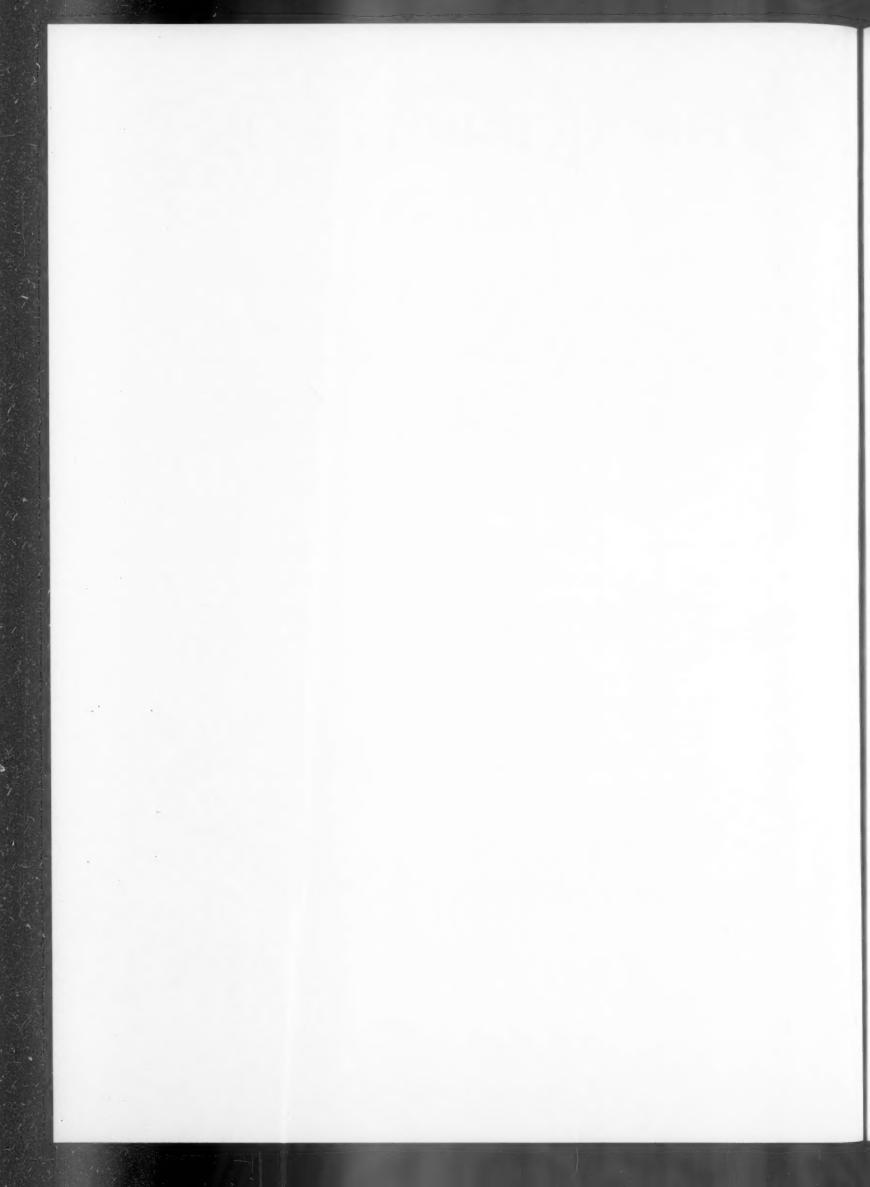
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## ST. AUGUSTINE IN "ST. JEROME'S STUDY": CARPACCIO'S PAINTING AND ITS LEGENDARY SOURCE\*

#### HELEN I. ROBERTS

ARPACCIO's painting of an ecclesiastical scholar in an oratory (Fig. 3), which hangs in the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni in Venice to the right of two scenes from the life of St. Jerome, has been universally referred to as a representation of St. Jerome. Apparently no interpretative description prior to Ruskin's of 1884 exists,1 and no document dating from Carpaccio's period of activity has been found that refer to the painting, or, for that matter, to any of the paintings of the cycle.2 The subject matter is to be inferred only from the contents of the painting itself and from its position in the series, both of which present incongruities if the seated figure is considered to be St. Jerome.

The painting is the last of a series of Carpaccio's scenes from the lives of saints that begins at the left of the entrance door of the lower room of the Scuola and proceeds around the room to the right.8 Preceding it are two scenes unquestionably from the life of St. Jerome (Figs. 1, 2). The first illustrates an episode, well known from the Golden Legend and appearing in other literary sources, in which the saint fearlessly receives a lion which had come to the monastery with a thorn in its foot. Second is the death of a person resembling the saint of the previous

\* This study was first made as an M.A. thesis in 1956-1958 under the direction of Professor James S. Ackerman at the University of California at Berkeley. It developed from a consultation with Professor Edward E. Lowinsky concerning the music in Carpaccio's painting. His immediate observation that the painting seemed more suitable as a representation of Augustine than of Jerome provided the stimulation of doubt concerning Carpaccio's subject matter and led to a reexamination of Carpaccio's cycle and its possible literary sources. I am very grateful for the continued assistance of Professors Ackerman and Lowinsky.

For his generous response by letter to my request for information, I should like to thank Dr. Erwin Panofsky of the Institute for Advanced Study. I am also grateful for the assistance of Drs. Daryll Amyx and Juergen Schulz of the University of California, and Michelangelo Muraro, formerly of the Soprintendenza ai Monumenti, Venice. I should also like to extend personal thanks for chores kindly performed and suggestions given by Dr. and Mrs. Robert Brentano, Eugene Brunelle, Dr. Herschel Chipp, Ernest Mundt, and by traveling friends who kindly obtained information for me. For assistance in obtaining photographs I should like to thank Mr. Ernest Nash of the Fototeca di Architettura e Topografia dell'Italia Antica, and those who have furnished me the means of approaching the possessors of the pictures discussed, as well as the institutions and firms who have provided the photographs.

I greatly appreciate the kindness of the staff of the Scuola Dalmata dei SS. Giorgio e Trifone in facilitating my examinations of the painting.
1. John Ruskin, St. Mark's Rest, New York, 1884, pp. 129-

133. Neither descriptions of the painting nor mention of its title are to be found in the following early accounts: Marcantonio Michiel's Notizia (Der Anonimo morelliano, ed. Theodor Frimmel, Vienna, 1896, in Ilg, Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik); Giorgio Vasari, Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori (ed. Milanesi, Florence, 1878) III, pp. 627-678; Marco Boschini, Le ricche minere

della pittura veneziana, Venice, 1674, Castello, p. 37; Carlo Ridolfi, Le maraviglie dell'Arte, Venice, 1648, p. 30, ed. Hadeln, Berlin, 1914, p. 47; A. M. Zanetti, Descrizione di tutte le pubbliche pitture . . . di Venezia, Venice, 1733, p. 229; idem, Della pittura veneziana, Venice, 1771, p. 37; Flaminio Corner, Notizie storiche delle chiese . . . di Venezia, Padua, 1758, pp. 168-172, L'Abbe Moschini, Itinéraire de la ville de Venice, Venice, 1810, p. 241 idem, Nuova quida per Venezia. Venise, Venice, 1819, p. 24; idem, Nuova guida per Venezia,

Venice, 1840, p. 52.

2. The lack of documents in the archives of the Scuola concerning Carpaccio's paintings has been noted by Oswaldo Böhm, L'église de S. Georges des Esclavons à Venise, Florence, 1904, p. 11; by Gustav Ludwig and Pompeo Molmenti, The Life and Works of Vittorio Carpaccio, London, 1907, p. 115; and by Terisio Pignatti, Carpaccio, Lausanne, 1958, p. 56. No other author discussed here refers to any record of the paintings.

3. The scenes, as listed in Michelangelo Muraro, Victor Carpaccio alla Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni in Venezia, Milan, 1956, p. 20, are (left to right):

1. St. George Fighting the Dragon (1.36 x 3.54m)

- 2. Triumph of St. George (1.36 x 3.55m)
  3. St. George Baptizes the King of Selene and His Court (1.39 X 2.85m)
- 4. Madonna Enthroned with Angels
- 5. St. Triphonius Exorcises the Demon Tormenting the Emperor's Daughter (1.41 x 3.00m)
- 6. Agony in the Garden (1.44 x 1.04m)
- 7. Calling of St. Matthew (1.44 x 1.14m)
- 8. St. Jerome and the Lion (1.44 x 2.08m)
- 9. Death of St. Jerome (1.44 x 2.08m)

10. St. Jerome in His Study (1.44 x 2.08m)
4. Jacobus de Varagine, The Golden Legend; or Lives of the Saints, as Englished by William Caxton, London, 1900, V, p. 203; ed. Arrigo Levanti, Pistoia, 1926, III, p. 1242. See also note 53 below for other accounts of Jerome's life which include the story.

scene. A lion is in the background. In both paintings Jerome has white hair and a long white beard. Next, and last, appears the scene in question. All three paintings are signed. Present opinion places the last scene after 1502, the date generally accepted as visible on the death scene in Roman numerals after the signature. The three paintings are on framed canvases, having been executed in tempera, with the added final use of oil.

If the painting represents Jerome, it would have more naturally been placed before the other two scenes from his life, since it shows a young or middle-aged person with dark hair and a short beard. The presence of a dog as a companion in place of the lion could then be explained, since the lion would have come to the saint at a later time, after his hair had become white. Originally the painting could have been placed first in the series and then have been replaced by mistake in its present position after being removed from the wall, as in 1551, when the Scuola was rebuilt.

Ruskin, however, accepted the present order and interpreted the painting as a supernatural scene of the saint in Heaven after his death, in divine meditation. Ludwig and Molmenti also accepted it in their attempted reconstruction of the original order of all the paintings in the Scuola. Mhile noting the incongruity, they pointed out that there were other such representations, which they assumed to be of Jerome in his oratory, following scenes of his funeral, and concluded that such placement was traditional and not accidental.

Both Carpaccio's painting and the final scene of the predella furnished as an example by Ludwig and Molmenti (Fig. 4, of which more will be said below) contain evidence that the person represented is not Jerome. The broad-brimmed cardinal's hat, either worn by Jerome or placed near him by a tradition fixed in painting by the fifteenth century, is absent in both. Instead, attributes commonly used to designate bishops or mitered abbots are placed in the paintings. In Carpaccio's, a miter appears on the central altar, and a crozier leans against it. In the predella scene, a miter is worn by the seated figure.<sup>14</sup>

While the absence of the tame lion, usually shown with Jerome in his study, would not in itself show that the paintings do not represent Jerome, the presence of attributes never assigned to him during the period would seem to do so.

5. See note 54 below for the literary source of this scene.

6. Giuseppe Fiocco, Carpaccio, Paris, 1931, p. 75; Muraro, loc.cit.

Ludwig and Molmenti (op.cit., p. 118) believed that the last scene could not have been completed until 1505. No substantially different opinion has been advanced. The latest date ascribed to any painting in the cycle is 1511, the date which Gaetano Milanesi read on the label of St. George Baptizing the King, and recorded in his commentary to his edition of Vasari (op.cit., 111, p. 661). Fiocco (op.cit., p. 78) reads it as 1508.

7. Nolfo di Carpegna ("Il restauro dei dipinti del Carpaccio di S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni," *Arte veneta*, 1, 1947, pp. 67-68) establishes in his description of the cycle before and during its restoration that it had been executed in tempera on canvas, with the use of oil to complete and fix it.

8. See note 4 above. The lion episode is recounted as taking place in Jerome's later life, after his experiences in the desert and removal to Bethlehem.

9. The painting might have been intended for first position in the series even if it had been painted later than the others. A later date than 1502, the date of the death scene, is suggested by Lionello Venturi (*Le origini della pittura veneziana*, Venice, 1907, p. 311) who comments that the painting is superior coloristically and could have been executed some time after the others in the cycle.

10. According to an inscription on the façade (Ludwig and Molmenti, op.cit., p. 115). Although Ludwig and Molmenti found no records concerning the moving of the paintings, they concluded that all of them were moved from the upper to the

lower floor at that time, and assembled in a different order. However, they believed that the three paintings concerning Jerome were replaced in the original order in relation to each other (*ibid.*, pp. 117-120).

11. Ruskin, op.cit., pp. 129ff.

12. Ludwig and Molmenti, op.cit., pp. 117-118, 122.

13. Ibid., p. 122. They furnished one example (their fig. 117 and here Fig. 4) which proves to be a part of a predella now in the London National Gallery (National Gallery Catalogue: Earlier Italian Schools, London, 1953, 1, pl. 84). See note 31 below for the subsequent documentation of this example, which was neither identified nor attributed by Ludwig and Molmenti.

14. Authorities on iconography uniformly assign the cardinal's hat to Jerome and the miter and crozier to Augustine in paintings of the period: George Kaftal, Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting, Florence, 1952, col. 521 (Jerome), cols. 100, 101 (Augustine); Joseph Braun, Tracht und Attribute der Heiligen in der deutschen Kunst, Stuttgart, 1943, cols. 328-333 (Jerome), 108-110 (Augustine); Heinrich Detzel, Christliche Ikonographie, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1896, II, pp. 407-410 (Jerome), pp. 173-176 (Augustine); Mrs. Jameson, Sacred and Legendary Art, London, 1870, I, p. 289 (Jerome), p. 309 (Augustine).

According to Adolfo Venturi (L'Arte a San Girolamo, Milan, 1924, pp. 9, 10), the representation of Jerome in this manner was established in the fourteenth century. Although Venturi found earlier examples representing Jerome as mitered among the doctors of the church, the miter was subsequently

excluded from his attributes.

LEGENDS OF St. JEROME'S POSTHUMOUS MIRACLES, AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF THEM IN PAINTINGS

A group of legends of St. Jerome, described in 1908 by Louise Pillion and Herbert P. Horne, 15 and subsequently noted by several authors as sources for some of the fifteenth and sixteenth century illustrations appearing along with scenes from his life, 16 provide a different solution of the problem. The legends had their origin in three apocryphal letters of the end of the thirteenth century that were thought to have been written by St. Eusebius of Cremona, St. Augustine, and St. Cyril of Jerusalem. These letters were appended to manuscripts and books on Jerome from places widely separated geographically in Europe, including Florence and Venice in Carpaccio's

Appended to works containing such familiar stories from Jerome's life as his dream of punishment by God for being a Ciceronian18 and his aid to the limping lion, the letters provided for illustration further stories about his last communion, his death, and subsequent miracles. Among these are accounts of how shortly after his death he miraculously visited others.

The stories of the miraculous visits are not included in the Golden Legend by Iacopo da Varagine, since the letters were not incorporated into it. They are related, however, in abbreviated form, in another compendium of lives of the saints, written in the fourteenth century and printed during Carpaccio's period, the Catalogus sanctorum by Petrus de Natalibus.19

The fullest versions of the legends are in such books on Jerome as Hieronymus. Vita et transitus, Venice, Pasquale and Bertochus, 1485,20 where the lengthy letters by "Eusebius," "Augustine," and "Cyril," are fully reproduced.21

"Eusebius," after describing the last communion and death of Jerome in Bethlehem and the

15. Louise Pillion, "La légende de Saint Jérôme d'aprés quelques peintures italiennes du xve siécle au Musée du Louvre," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 3e ser., xxxIX, 1908, pp. 306-316; Herbert P. Horne, Sandro Botticelli, London, 1908, pp. 174-

16. Georg Gronau, "Zwei Predellenbilder von Raphael," Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft, 1, 12, 1908, pp. 1071-1079; J. P. Richter, The Mond Collection, London, 1910, pp. 299-510, fully interpreting a predella by Luca Signorelli noted by Horne (op.cit., p. 175); Herbert P. Horne, "The Last Communion of St. Jerome by Sandro Botticelli," Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, x, 1915, pp. 52-56, 72-75, 101-105; A. Venturi, Storia dell'arte italiana (VII, 2, 1913, pp. 483-484, 800-802 on Louvre predella scenes discussed by Pillion, op.cit., and others by Raphael treated by Gronau, op.cit.; ibid., VI, 3, 1914, pp. 1073-1078 on some by Francesco Bianchi Ferrari; ibid., VII, 4, 1915, pp. 382-386 on paintings by Lazzaro Bastiani); idem, L'Arte a San Girolamo, Milan, 1924, pp. 48-50, 105-107 on some of the same paintings; Roger Fry, "The Mond Pictures in the National Gallery," Burlington Magazine, XXXXIV, 1924, p. 240, on the Signorelli predella; Karl Künstle, Ikonographie der Heiligen, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1926, 11, p. 305, summarizing examples known; "Two Paintings by Matteo di Giovanni," Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago, xx, 3, 1926, pp. 30-32 on predella panels by Matteo di Giovanni; Martin Davies, National Gallery Catalogue: The Earlier Italian Schools, London, 1951, pp. 91-94, 378-380 on the Signorelli predella and another by Francesco Botticini; Kaftal, op.cit., cols. 109, 11, 532, citing paintings mentioned above and one by Fra Filippo Lippi; Erwin Panofsky, "A Letter to St. Jerome," Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene, ed. Dorothy Miner, Princeton, 1954, p. 106, n. 13, on a French manuscript illustration and the Signorelli predella.

17. For an account of the works in which the legends appeared and their translators and commentators, see Appendix 1 below. I have found, among listings of incunabula printed between 1475 and 1500, 28 Italian editions that included the legends. Of these 11 are Venetian.

18. The legend appears, for example, in the English trans-

lation of 1483 of the Golden Legend by William Caxton (op.cit., pp. 200-201) and in Petrus de Natalibus, Catalogus sanctorum, Vicenza, Ca Zeno, 1493 (Huntington Library no. 4120, referred to hereafter as the Vicentine Catalogus sanctorum), fol. 237°.

19. The condensed version of the legends of the letters, leaving out much of "Cyril's" but referring to all three authors at the end of the passage, appears in the Vicentine Catalogus sanctorum, fols. 237 -238r.

20. Huntington Library no. 3079, referred to below as the Venetian Hieronymus. The pagination of its unnumbered pages

21. The summaries of the episodes which I have given from the Venetian Hieronymus correspond to relevant excerpts from the copies of the letters reproduced in J. P. Migne, Patr. lat. XXII, cols. 239-326; the fourteenth century German manuscript published by Joseph Klapper ("Schriften Johanns von Neumarkt," in Konrad Burdach, Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation, VI, 2, Berlin, 1932); La vita et transito et miracoli del beatissimo hieronymo doctore excellentissimo . . . (including Il devoto transito del gloriose sancto Hieronymo), Florence, Buonaccori [Bonacorsi], 1490-1491, referred to hereafter as the Florentine Hieronymus, partially translated by Herbert P. Horne, Sandro Botticelli, London, 1908, pp. 175-176 and Richter, op.cit., pp. 501-509; and Giovanni d'Andrea, Hieronymianus, Basel, 1514, passages from which were summarized and translated by Pillion, op.cit.

For the passage on Jerome's last communion and death, see Horne, op.cit., pp. 175-176; Klapper, op.cit., pp. 181ff., 209; Venetian Hieronymus, fols. 15 ff., 17 -18 f, for the first visit to Augustine, Richter, pp. 501-503, Pillion, p. 310, Klapper, pp. 256-266, and the Venetian *Hieronymus*, fols. 22<sup>r</sup>-23<sup>r</sup>; for the second visit to Augustine, Richter, pp. 503-506, Pillion, p. 311, Klapper, pp. 275-283, and the Venetian Hieronymus, fols. 24r-25r; for the visit to Cyril, Richter, pp. 507-509, Klapper, pp. 275-276, and the Venetian *Hieronymus*, fols. 18<sup>r</sup>-18<sup>v</sup>; for the visit to Sulpicius Severus, Richter, pp. 506-507, Pillion, p. 310, Klapper, pp. 267-272, and the Venetian *Hieronymus*, fols. 23<sup>r</sup>-24<sup>r</sup>.

miraculous phenomena that then took place, recounts that in the "last hour" of the day of Jerome's death, Cyril, in rapt prayer in his cell, saw in a vision the road leading from Jerome's convent to the sky. Upon it singing angels converged from opposite directions, each with a taper whose light was greater than that of the sun. In their midst appeared the soul of Jerome with Christ on his right hand. The soul of Jerome spoke to Cyril, telling of receiving the glory for which Jerome had hoped.

"Augustine" describes two separate experiences in Hippo, one in which Jerome's voice was heard at the end of the day, and another late in the same night, when Jerome appeared with John the Baptist, who spoke in praise of Jerome. Between these two accounts, he also describes a visit

by Jerome to Sulpicius Severus.

In the first episode, Augustine, in his cell at the hour of compline, was unaware that Jerome's death had taken place during the same hour in Bethlehem. He had been in contemplation of the glory and joy of the blessed who rejoice with Christ, since he had been urged to write a treatise on the subject. He was beginning a letter to Jerome, to seek his opinions, when an unnatural light and fragrance entered the room. Bewildered by these phenomena, he then heard a voice coming from the light. No vision, other than that of the light, appeared in this episode, but the speaker identified himself as Jerome. After taking Augustine to task for the ambitious scope of his contemplations, he informed him that his own soul had left his body in Bethlehem and was then in splendor in Heaven. He then answered many questions asked by Augustine on the Trinity, the generation and procession of the Son from the Father, the heavenly hierarchy, and other subjects.

"Augustine" next relates that Sulpicius Severus, a learned cleric of Tours (not a bishop), came to him without yet knowing of Augustine's vision, and told him of the following episode. At the hour of Jerome's death, Severus was conversing with three companions, two of whom were monks. They heard supernatural music and saw the heavens open. When they prayed God to interpret the vision, a voice answered them that the soul of Jerome was being met by Christ and a great company from Heaven enumerated by the speaker, which included the Virgin Mary. The voice also acknowledged Jerome to be the equal in glory of John the Baptist and the Apostles.

Next there follows a description of the second miraculous visit by Jerome to Augustine a few hours later, when Augustine, thus informed of Jerome's death, had prepared himself to write a letter in honor of Jerome. He had meditated upon the task until midnight and had been overcome by sleep, when he saw two figures in the midst of angels. The fine raiment of the two was differentiated only in that one wore three crowns and the other two. They approached him together, and the wearer of three crowns addressed him, saying that they had come to help him in his task. The speaker identified himself as John the Baptist and his companion as Jerome. The Baptist praised Jerome as his equal, explaining that his own three crowns exceeded Jerome's because he himself died in martyrdom, while Jerome did not, although he suffered much in life.

The miracles described by "Cyril" are of a different sort, involving Jerome's intervention at climactic points in stories of catastrophes where his aid was needed after his death.<sup>22</sup>

Of the four of these legends that have been found illustrated in predellas, two concern Jerome's aid in combatting heresy. In one story Eusebius, Jerome's former companion at Bethlehem and the supposed author of the first of the letters, had fasted and prayed for three days when Jerome miraculously appeared and told him how to perform a miracle as a demonstration to refute the heretics. Following Jerome's instructions and using the garment which Jerome had worn, Eusebius resuscitated three dead men in the presence of both Catholics and men of other sects. The other

by Pillion, op.cit., pp. 312-316. They are included in the Venetian *Hieronymus* as well (fols.  $25^{v}-26^{v}$ ;  $29^{r}-30^{r}$ ;  $32^{v}-33^{v}$ ;  $40^{v}-41^{r}$ ).

<sup>22.</sup> For "Cyril's" stories of the three resuscitated dead, of Silvanus, of the youths rescued from the gallows, and of "Andrea," see Klapper, op.cit., pp. 296-306, 340-350, 381-391, and 477-480 respectively. The last three are also summarized

account is of Silvanus, Archbishop of Nazareth, who had offered himself for execution if Jerome did not give a sign against a heretical work forged as Jerome's. At the final moment Jerome intervened to declare the writings to be false, and the head of Silvanus' opponent, instead of his own, fell to the ground.

The other two stories illustrated from "Cyril's" letter tell of Jerome's intervention to save persons condemned, in one case by earthly authority, in the other before God's tribunal. One account concerns two young pilgrims from Rome on their way to Jerome's tomb who were seized near Constantinople and were to be put to torture and death when they failed to confess to a murder of which they were innocent. They called upon Jerome, who prevented their torture from having effect and finally supported them alive for eight days suspended from the gallows. In the other story Jerome interceded when one of his deceased devotees, a cardinal priest "Andrea," was condemned by his divine judges for his former self-indulgence. Jerome requested that Andrea's soul be returned to his body, and he revived during the preparations for his funeral in Rome.

After Pillion published summaries of these legends in 1908, the same year in which Horne translated the portion of the account by "Eusebius" on Jerome's last communion and death, more paintings which drew upon the same material were found by several authors.<sup>23</sup> The following is a summary, by geographical schools and chronology, of those paintings which, as far as I know, have been identified up to the present time.

The earliest among the Florentine examples is in the background of an altarpiece by Fra Filippo Lippi, probably dating from about 1440, in the Cathedral of Prato, representing the Death of Jerome (Figs. 8, 9).<sup>24</sup> The main subject seems close to "Eusebius" account of happenings following Jerome's death,<sup>25</sup> where some of those present saw angels and some heard a voice welcoming Jerome to Heaven, since God, Christ, and angels are shown above. The figure in the foreground with crutch and bound foot may be seeing angels, or might represent a blind person who according to "Eusebius" received sight upon touching the dead Jerome, although he was not described as crippled as well.

In the landscape background to the left is a scene of the Birth of Christ, probably signifying Bethlehem, where the death of Jerome took place, and where, according to "Eusebius," he asked to be buried.<sup>26</sup> In the center is the kneeling Jerome, perhaps at the moment when his soul is received into Heaven. To the right is a scene listed by Kaftal as Jerome's first visit to Augustine,<sup>27</sup> by previous authors as the presentation of the Bible to Pope Damasus (Fig. 9).<sup>28</sup> The former seems more likely. First, the seated figure wears a miter, not a tiara. Next, a supernatural visitation rather than an earthly event seems indicated by Jerome's floating position. Last, the larger scenes of the picture are compatible with descriptions included in the same literary source, namely the letters, as that from which the visit to Augustine is derived.

A predella in the Louvre by a follower of Fra Angelico<sup>20</sup> includes the scene of Jerome's first visit to Augustine. It is a part of a retable representing the Virgin and Child enthroned with six saints, including Jerome, who stands directly to her right, and John the Baptist, directly to her

23. For references to these authors, see note 16 above and the following notes to the pictures identified by them.

188-189; Kaftal, op.cit., col. 532.
25. Florentine Hieronymus, folios 49<sup>r</sup>-51<sup>v</sup>. The copy I have used is Walters Art Gallery no. H. 237. See also Klapper, op.cit., pp. 210-213.

26. Oertel, op.cit. The Florentine Hieronymus (fol. 43°, Chapter XVIII) includes a chapter on Jerome's expressed wish to be buried in the vicinity of Christ's birthplace. See also Klapper, op.cit., p. 180.

27. Kaftal, op.cit., col. 529.

28. Mendelsohn, op.cit., p. 107; Oertel, loc.cit.; Pittaluga, loc.cit.

29. Pillion, op.cit., pp. 305, 310, 317. The painting of which the predella forms a part is Louvre no. 1320 (Pillion, op.cit., illustration on p. 306) from the Church of San Girolamo in Fiesole. Pillion, in disagreement with previous attributions, assigned the work to an immediate follower of Fra Angelico. Kaftal cites a verbal attribution by Richard Offner in agreement with Pillion's (Kaftal, op.cit., col. 533). (Pillion's illustration of the painting is the correct one; Kaftal's fig. 609 is in error, actually reproducing the same scene by Sano di Pietro referred to below (note 39). His written references, however, all correspond to Louvre no. 1320, presently in the Musée de Chartres.)

<sup>24.</sup> Henriette Mendelsohn, Fra Filippo Lippi, Berlin, 1909, pp. 104-107; A. Venturi, L'Arte a San Girolamo, Milan, 1924, pp. 134-136; Robert Oertel, Fra Filippo Lippi, Vienna, 1942, p. 76; Mary Pittaluga, Filippo Lippi, Florence, 1949, pp. 188-180; Kaftal, op.cit., col. 532.

left. Scenes of Jerome's dream of judgment for being a Ciceronian and of his death precede that of his first visit to Augustine (Fig. 10). Augustine is interrupted while writing what Pillion suggested might read "Beatitudo," referring to the projected treatise on the happiness of the blessed in Heaven.

The picture that I have already mentioned in connection with the problem of the position of Carpaccio's painting and that Molmenti thought was a representation of Jerome in his study, proves to be from a predella of an altarpiece by Francesco Botticini representing Jerome in Penitence, probably painted about 1474-1476. The predella scene in question (Fig. 4) is preceded by scenes representing the treatment of the lion's foot, Jerome's dream of punishment, and his death. It illustrates Jerome's second visit to Augustine in the presence of John the Baptist, who holds a scroll inscribed "ECCE A." As in the Louvre picture, Augustine wears a miter. Among the saints in the principal painting of the altarpiece are Eusebius and Damasus, identified by inscriptions in the painting, the author and recipient respectively of the first of the group of the three letters in which the legends discussed here are to be found.

The most clearly identifiable example among the pictures representing subjects traced to these legends is a fresco from the life cycle of St. Augustine in the Church of Sant'Agostino in San Gimignano of 1465, showing the first visit by Jerome to Augustine (Fig. 11).33 The following inscription may be seen beneath the painting:

> QUEMADMODUM HIERONIMUS PAULO ANTE [DEFUTUS] AUGUSTINUM DECELESTI GLORIA INFORMAVIT

The inscription may be translated, "How Jerome, who had died a little before, informed Augustine of Heavenly Glory."34 The fresco is preceded by one showing Augustine's triumph over the heretic Fortunatus and followed by a scene of his funeral. No vision is represented, just as none is described other than that of the light in the text. Since the explanation of the scene was provided in the inscription, no picture of a vision was necessary to inform the observer what was occurring. In the scenes of the first visit discussed above (Figs. 8, 9, 10), on the other hand, it was perhaps considered necessary to show who was addressing Augustine, when only the voice was heard.

Botticelli illustrated a story from the "Eusebius" letter, the Last Communion of St. Jerome, probably in the last decade of the fifteenth century. 85 His fresco St. Augustine in Meditation in the Ognissanti (Fig. 12) of about 148036 so resembles the fresco by Benozzo Gozzoli described above that one might be tempted to consider it a representation of the subject, were it not for two facts that discourage the speculation. First, the fresco has never been considered part of a lifecycle but an independent representation of the saint, corresponding to its companion piece, Domenico Ghirlandaio's St. Jerome in His Study. 37 Second, the inscriptions above both frescoes which identify

30. The word is used for the subject of Augustine's projected treatise in the abbreviated account of Jerome's address in the Vicentine Catalogus sanctorum, fol. 237°. (See Appendix

31. Davies, op.cit., pp. 91-94; illustrated in National Gallery Catalogue: Earlier Italian Schools, London, 1953, I, pl. 84. The portion of the predella reproduced by Ludwig and Molmenti (see note 13 above) is the last of its scenes, showing the Rucellai arms which it bears on both ends. The altarpiece, National Gallery no. 227, was bought in 1855 from the Ricasoli family in Florence. Davies interprets the scene as a representation of the second visit to Augustine. The painting came originally from the Church of the Hermits of St. Jerome of Fiesole, the provenance also of the Louvre work of the School of Fra Angelico described above. Davies accepts the attribution to Botticini, and believes that the painting was

done after 1460, and probably about 1474-1476.
32. Probably for "Ecce Agnus Dei . . . ," one of the inscriptions carried by John the Baptist (Kaftal, op.cit., col.

33. Karl Künstle, Ikonographie der Heiligen, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1926, p. 110; Kaftal, op.cit., cols. 103, 109, fig. 117. 34. The word DEFVTVS (= DEFUNCTUS) may be

constructed from the remaining fragments of the letters. For the appearance of Benozzo's inscriptions, with their contractions, in his other works, see the illustrations in Piero Bargellini, La fiaba pittorica di Benozzo Gozzoli, and ed., Florence, 1947, pp. 61-64.

35. Herbert P. Horne, opera citata, Harry B. Wehle, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. A Catalogue of Italian, Spanish and Byzantine Paintings, New York, 1950, pp. 46-47.
36. Heinrich Brockhaus, Forschungen über Florentinischer

Kunstwerke, Leipzig, 1902, pp. 101-103; Herbert P. Horne, Sandro Botticelli, London, 1908, pp. 68-69; Yukio Yashiro, Sandro Botticelli, Boston and London, 1929, p. 240.
37. Giorgio Vasari, Le vite . . . , 111, ed. Milanesi, p. 311,

and authors on Botticelli cited above, note 36.

the saints represented prove, I believe, to be amusing references to the moving of both pictures in 1564, and were probably added to them at that time. Thus they give no clue to any subject matter beyond the simplest interpretation: the representations of both saints in characteristic occupations.

Fragments of Sienese predella scenes have been found to illustrate the legends. The group in the Louvre by Sano di Pietro, perhaps of 1444, contains episodes culled from the letters:<sup>30</sup> the death of Jerome and his first visit to Augustine (Fig. 13) and the announcement of Jerome's death to Sulpicius Severus (shown with only one companion) and the second visit to Augustine (Fig. 14).

Another known Sienese example is one of the two predella panels of similar size by Matteo di Giovanni of about 1470-1480 in the Ryerson Collection of the Art Institute of Chicago (Fig. 15),<sup>40</sup> illustrating Augustine's second visit by Jerome in fine detail: the two and three tiers of the crowns are clearly distinguished, and some writing was probably once legible on the scroll upon which Augustine writes, since one line appears in larger writing than the rest. The Ryerson Collection's other panel shows Jerome's dream of flagellation for being a Ciceronian.

The legends appear in Umbrian predellas as well. Two more of Pillion's examples in the Louvre, ascribed by Venturi to Perugino, represent the revived cardinal priest "Andrea," and the

38. The inscriptions above both frescoes are provided by Brockhaus, op.cit., pp. 101-103 and Horne, op.cit., pp. 68-69, but neither was translated nor fully interpreted, perhaps because it is difficult to find a meaning for their face value: (over Botticelli's:)

SIC AUGUSTINUS SACRIS SE TRADIDIT UT NON
MUTATUM SIBI ADHUC SENSERIT ESSE LOCUM
(over Ghirlandaio's:)

NE TIBI QUID PICTO, HIERONYME SANCTO, DEESSET EST NUPER, MIRUM, MOTUS AB ARTE DATUS

The frescoes were moved to their present location in 1564, according to Vasari (op.cit., III, pp. 258-259, 311), who in describing the moving of Botticelli's uses the words "Questa pittura come si e detto nella Vita del Ghirlandaio, quest'anno 1564 e stata mutata dal luogo suo salva ed intiera." He described the process (op.cit., pp. 258-259) in discussing Ghirlandaio's. Both were fastened with chains and transported within the church. If the inscriptions may be translated thus:

"Augustine has devoted himself so completely to sacred studies, that he is still not aware that his location has been changed," and

"St. Jerome, so that nothing would be lacking to you as painted, recently—wonder to behold—motion was given by Art."

then both inscriptions may refer to the moving, the "Art" in the second inscription referring not to painterly art, but to craftsmanship in the difficult task of the moving. The inscription over Ghirlandaio's painting has been altered since the recordings by Brockhaus and Horne and since Alinari photo 4116 was taken. It now reads, in a different script:

REDDE NOS CLAROS LAMPAS RADIOSA SINE QUA TERRA TOTA EST UMBROSA

Probably these lines are from an old hymn to Jerome (Joseph Klapper, "Aus der Frühzeit des Humanismus," Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstage von Max Koch, Breslau, 1926, p. 264, lines 21-22).

39. The group of predella fragments is numbered 1128-1132 in the Louvre (Georges Lafenestre and Eugene Richtenberger, Le Musée National du Louvre, Paris, 1907, p. 161). They came from the Rinuccini Collection of Florence. The attribution to Sano di Pietro was accepted by Pillion and by Jörg Trübner (Die stilistische Entwicklung der Tafelbilder des Sano di Pietro, Strasbourg, 1925, p. 8), who believes the group to have been a part of the signed and dated polyptych of 1444, no. 246, in the Pinacoteca of Siena, originally from the Gesuati cloister of San Girolamo in Siena (Cesare Brandi, Quattro-

centisti senesi, Milan, 1949, p. 256, pl. 111; idem, La Regia Pinacoteca di Siena, Rome, 1933, p. 258). It represents the Madonna and Child with Saints, among whom are Jerome and Augustine. Augustine in this painting, according to Trübner (op.cit., pp. 7, 92 n. 25) stands holding an open book on which one can read a sentence of the letter in honor of St. Jerome. Kaftal (op.cit., col. 101) provides this inscription: "Sanctus Ieronymus presbiter greco latino et hebraico eloqui eruditus cuius nobilis eloquium ab oriente usque in occidentem instar solis lampas resplenditur."

The subjects of the last two panels were elucidated by Pillion (op.cit., pp. 309-311). The stories shown in all five fragments are: 1) Jerome's Dream, during a nearly fatal illness, in which he was held in judgment and flagellated for being a Ciceronian; 2) Jerome in Penitence in the Desert; 3) Jerome Treating the Lion's Foot, and the lion bringing back an ass which had been stolen; 4) the Death of Jerome and his First Visit to Augustine; 5) the Announcement of Jerome's Death to Sulpicius Severus and Jerome's Second Visit to Augustine.

(As mentioned above in note 29, Kaftal's reproduction of the predella scene of Jerome's first visit to Augustine, op.cit., fig. 609, is numbered by error to refer to his listing of the same episode from another predella, that of the School of Fra Angelico, Louvre no. 1320, described above.)

40. Kaftal, op.cit., col. 529, fig. 612; Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago, 1926, 3, pp. 30-32. The panels came from the collection of Lord Brownlow at Ashridge Park, Berkhampstead, where they were noted by B. Berenson, The Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance, New York and London, 1909, p. 194 as "Two Episodes from the Life of St. James." G. F. Hartlaub (Matteo da Siena und seine Zeit, Strasbourg, 1910, p. 117) believed that they probably had been a part of Matteo di Giovanni's St. Jerome in His Study in the Fogg Museum, dated by an inscription which has been read as 1482 and 1492 (Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago, 1926, 3, p. 32). Lionello Venturi (Italian Paintings in America, New York and Milan, 1933, 11, pl. 296 and its incorporated text) disagrees with this theory of the connection between the three paintings, although he believes that the two smaller ones belonged to the same predella. Marialuisa Gengaro ("Matteo di Giovanni," La Diana, 1X, 1934, pp. 166-167) dates the panels between 1470 and 1480.

The scenes are identified by the Art Institute (op.cit. pp. 31-32) as Jerome's Dream of Punishment for Being a Ciceronian and Augustine's Vision of Jerome and John the Baptist.

two devotees of Jerome saved by him from death at the gallows.<sup>41</sup> Predella fragments by Raphael in Richmond and Lisbon illustrate scenes of the rescue of Silvanus and the resuscitation of the three dead men by Eusebius.<sup>42</sup> Another by Signorelli in the National Gallery in London contains three of Jerome's posthumous visits (Figs. 16, 17) flanking a central scene showing Esther before Ahasuerus.<sup>43</sup> The first visit to Augustine, which included no specific vision, is omitted. The three episodes are identifiable by the differentiated visions which came in each. This is the only example of which I know that includes the visit to Cyril. It is also the only one of the pictures discussed here in which Augustine is not provided with his miter. Cyril lacks his as well.

An Emilian example occurs in a predella in Modena by Francesco Bianchi Ferrari, including among scenes from Jerome's life the episode of the resuscitation by Eusebius of the three dead men narrated in the "Cyril" letter.44

Three Venetian paintings of larger size illustrated legends from the letters, two antedating Carpaccio's cycle, and one following it by half a century.

Of two paintings of scenes from the life of Jerome by Lazzaro Bastiani in the Academy in Venice, one represents the last communion of Jerome.<sup>45</sup>

A painting of Jerome appearing to Augustine by Giovanni Mansueti and presently in The Hague (Fig. 18) apparently illustrates the first visit. The seated ecclesiastic, his miter nearby, is interrupted when about to write on a sheet placed upon an open book, probably the projected letter to Jerome resting upon the treatise. Jerome, in a red robe, is shown in a radiance but unaccompanied by John the Baptist.

A lost painting of one of Jerome's visits to Augustine, probably the first since he alone is mentioned, is recorded as appearing in a life cycle of Jerome in the Scuola di San Fantino (or San Girolamo), presently the Ateneo Veneto.<sup>47</sup> The painting was among eight scenes by Palma the

41. Pillion, op.cit., pp. 314-316, illustrations on pp. 313, 315; A. Venturi, Storia dell'arte italiana, VII, 2, 1913, pp. 483-484, figs. 365, 366; idem, L'Arte a San Girolamo, Milan, 1924, p. 176, figs. 141, 142.

42. A. Venturi, Storia dell'arte italiana, VII, 2, 1913, pp. 800-802, figs. 608, 609; idem, L'Arte a San Girolamo, Milan, 1924, pp. 250-252; Karl Künstle, Ikonographie der Heiligen, Freiburg im Breigau, 1926, II, p. 305; B. Berenson, Italian Pictures of the Renaissance, Oxford, 1932, p. 482 (Cook Collection no. 67), 480 (Lisbon). Berenson lists both as dated 1503.

43. Herbert P. Horne, Sandro Botticelli, London, 1908, p. 175; Richter, op.cit., pp. 498-499, 503-509; Kaftal, op.cit., col. 529. The predella is now no. 3946 in the National Gallery in London. Richter was of the opinion, accepted by Davies (op.cit., p. 379), that it had originally accompanied an altarpiece commissioned for the Compagnia di San Girolamo at Arezzo finished by 1522. The altarpiece, now in the Gallery of Arezzo, has as its main subject the Virgin and Child with Saints and God the Father, with Jerome in the place of prominence to the right of the Virgin.

44. The predella is a part of an altarpiece in the church of San Pietro di Modena commissioned by the Sassi family (A. Venturi, Storia dell'arte italiana, Milan, VII, 3, 1914, p. 1070, figs. 806-809; idem, L'Arte a San Girolamo, Milan, 1924, p. 108, figs. 80-82; Künstle, op.cit. The principal subject of the altarpiece is the Madonna Enthroned between SS. Jerome and Sebastian.

The predella includes six scenes: 1) Jerome's Dream of Judgment for Being a Ciceronian; 2) Jerome in His Study; 3) Jerome Curing the Lion; 4) The Lion Bringing Back the Ass; 5) Jerome Pardoning the Guilty Merchants; 6) Eusebius Raising Three Dead Men.

45. The two paintings represent Jerome's last communion and his funeral (Sandra Moschini Marconi, Gallerie dell'

Accademia di Venezia, opere d'arte dei secoli xiv e xv, Rome, 1955, pp. 52, 53, pls. 51, 52). They were once ascribed to Carpaccio (Carlo Ridolfi, Le maraviglie dell'Arte, ed. Hadeln, Berlin, 1914, p. 45).

46. Bernard Berenson, Italian Pictures of the Renaissance, Venetian School, London, 1957, 1, p. 109, 11, pl. 375. Berenson lists the painting as Jerome Appearing to Augustine by Giovanni Mansueti. It is presently no. NK. 2818 in the Ministry of Culture in The Hague, where it is entitled "Life of St. Augustine." I should like to thank Mr. J. G. Berkhout of the Ministry of Culture for their reproduction and permission to publish it here, and for the following information about the painting. The picture has at one time been assigned to Carpaccio, is 97 x 137 cm, and is on canvas.

47. Listed in the reprint available to me of G. A. Moschini, Guida per la città di Venezia, Venice, 1815 (L'Abbé Moschini, Itineraire de la ville de Venise, Venice, 1819, p. 153) as follows: St. Jerome, 1) Elected Cardinal, 2) Flogged because He Read Cicero, 3) Appearing to St. Augustine, 4) Dying, 5) Receiving Gifts-probably from the merchants who had stolen the ass, 6) Engaged in Study, 7) Curing the Lion, 8) Attending the Building of His Monastery. According to Moschini they were by Palma (the Younger). The ceiling painted by him below which they were placed dated from about 1580-1582 (Raffaello Borghini, Il Riposo, Florence, 1584, p. 561; A. M. Zanetti, Descrizione di tutte le pubbliche pitture di Venezia, Venice, 1733, p. 180). According to Giuseppe Pavanello ("La Scuola di San Fantin, ora Ateneo, Ateneo Veneto, Rivista bimestrale di scienza, lettere ed arti, ann. xxxvII, vol. 1, fasc. 1, July-August 1914, pp. 5-100), provides the history of the edifice, also once known as the Scuola di San Girolamo (op.cit., p. 9). He cites records that the paintings left the Scuola in 1840 or 1841 (op.cit., pp. 76, 85, 98). Their whereabouts were unknown at his time of writing, and as far as I know they still have not been located.

Younger, among which were the subjects of the first two paintings of Carpaccio's cycle and Jerome's last communion.

Although it would be of considerable interest to find illustrations of the scenes incorporated in the manuscripts and books including the legends, I know so far of only one, found by Panofsky in a French manuscript of about 1460-1480 in the Walters Art Gallery (Fig. 19). The picture follows its text which relates the first visit. The salutation written by Augustine, transcribed "Iheronimo presbytero Augustinus salutem" by Panofsky, is the beginning of the letter in which he sought Jerome's opinion on the treatise. As in the case of the predellas described above, the speaker whose voice issued from the light is shown as he was imagined by the illustrator. "

#### CARPACCIO'S PAINTING AS AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE FIRST VISIT TO AUGUSTINE

Thus the legendary material of the letters was not only widely printed, still bearing the names of the supposed authors, 50 but had become part of the repertory used for Italian pictures of Jerome's life, 51 including larger Venetian paintings, from the fifteenth century on into the sixteenth. Their falsity probably became recognized gradually from the time of Erasmus' work on Jerome in the second decade of the sixteenth century, although the earliest statement I have found condemning them is of 1570. 52

Therefore the group of legends offers a plausible solution for the problem of the position and subject of Carpaccio's study scene. If its position is accepted as the original one, and if it is a part of a life cycle of Jerome, then it must represent a posthumous event, since it follows the death scene. The story of Carpaccio's first painting, the encounter with the lion, is in both Venetian editions to which I have referred as including the letters, the longer *Hieronymus*. Vita et transitus, and the shorter section on Jerome in the Catalogus Sanctorum. The subject of his second painting, the death scene, corresponds to "Eusebius'" account of Jerome's aspect when he died: his emaciated body is covered by a simple garment, and his arms are crossed upon his breast. This account in "Eusebius'" letter is, again, in both the Venetian editions which include the letters and the story of Jerome and the lion. No death or funeral scene is described in the Golden Legend, on the other

48. Erwin Panofsky, "A Letter to Saint Jerome: A Note on the Relationship between Petrus Christus and Jan van Eyck," Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene, ed Dorothy Miner, Princeton, 1054, p. 106, fig. 50.

ed. Dorothy Miner, Princeton, 1954, p. 106, fig. 50.
49. The manuscript, Walters Art Gallery no. 304, consists of the three letters by "Eusebius, Augustine, and Cyril," without any preceding vita. However, among its three illustrations are pictures of Jerome and the lion and Jerome in penitence (fols. 3<sup>r</sup> and 70<sup>r</sup>). The third illumination, on the first page of "Augustine's" letter (fol. 59<sup>r</sup>) is followed by the text which includes both the first (fols. 61<sup>v</sup>-64<sup>v</sup>) and the second (fols. 66v-68r) visits by Jerome to Augustine. Panofsky (op.cit., p. 106 n. 13), knowing of the Signorelli predella (in which the first scene does not appear but the second one does), assumed that the illustration was of the second visit. He therefore concluded (op.cit., p. 106 n. 13, col. 2) that the illustration did not follow the text. If, on the other hand, the picture be interpreted as the first visit, it follows the text more closely. The single figure appearing to Augustine may, as in the predellas described above, be understood as the illustrator's rendition of the supernatural speaker whose voice is issuing from the light (fols. 61\*-64\*). The Walters Art Gallery manuscript does not differ from the others described above in this passage: no vision is described other than that of the light from which the voice speaks. The illustration follows the text relating the first visit except that the speaker appears in person and is represented in the guise of a small child wearing a cardinal's hat.

50. Even in the abbreviated version of the legends in the Catalogus sanctorum, reference is made to the supposed authors by whom they had been related (Vicentine Catalogus sanctorum, fol. 238<sup>r</sup>).

51. The fact that Giovanni d'Andrea Bolognese, who in-

51. The fact that Giovanni d'Andrea Bolognese, who included the letters in his *Hieronymianus* of the fourteenth century, stated that he told the painters to represent Jerome in individual images (see note 83 below) in the way in which he was in fact represented thereafter, in a Cardinal's hat and accompanied by the lion, suggests that the letters themselves became accepted at the same time as authoritative subject matter for life cycles of Jerome.

52. See note 95 below.

53. Venetian *Hieronymus* (fol. 3<sup>v</sup>); Vicentine *Catalogus* sanctorum (folio 237<sup>v</sup>), also printed in Venice (see note 87 below).

54. The death scene, also included in the Venetian Hieronymus (fols. 17<sup>v</sup>-18<sup>r</sup>) and the Vicentine Catalogus Sanctorum as well (fol. 347<sup>v</sup>), is in "Eusebius" letter, and hence not in the Golden Legend, but in other texts of the letters (Klapper, op.cit., p. 209; Herbert P. Horne, Sandro Botticelli, London, 1908, pp. 175-176; Pillion, op.cit., pp. 308-309, translating their respective sources). In other passages (Klapper, op.cit., pp. 44-45, 220; Walters Art Gallery Ms 304, fols. 10<sup>r</sup>-10<sup>v</sup>; Venetian Hieronymus, fol. 18<sup>v</sup>) "Eusebius" described Jerome's emaciated condition and the simple garment with which the monks covered his body.

hand, which simply relates the year of Jerome's death.<sup>55</sup> Next, then, in Carpaccio's cycle would be expected one of the posthumous events.

Of all the posthumous scenes related in the letters only one, that of the first visit to Augustine, as will be seen, exactly fits the action of the painting and is compatible with those of its details which might identify and characterize the occupant of Carpaccio's study.

The passage describing the first visit, as translated from the Venetian edition of 1485, is as follows: 56

But in order that the merits of the most holy Jerome may not lie hidden, I will relate what happened to me, divine grace allowing it, on the very day of his death. Indeed, at the same day and hour when, having divested himself of foul and impure fleshly garment, most holy Jerome put on his garment of perpetual immortality and of inestimable joy and glory, I was resting in my cell in Hippo, eagerly considering how much glory and joy the souls of the blessed have who rejoice with Christ, then desiring to compose a brief treatise on this subject, compelled by the entreaties of our Severus, formerly student of the venerable Martin of Tours, and having taken in hand paper, pen, writing tablets, I wished to write a brief letter addressed to the most holy Jerome, in order that he should answer what he felt about it. Indeed, I knew of no one living who could more clearly instruct me in such a difficult question. Just as I was writing, beforehand, the beginning salutation to Jerome, suddenly an indescribable light, not seen in our times, and hardly to be described in our poor language, entered the cell in which I was, with an ineffable and unknown fragrance, of all odors, at the hour of compline. 57 When I saw this, moved by amazement and admiration, I suddenly lost strength of my limbs. Truly I did not know then that the right hand of marvellous God had raised his servant, making known his virtues to the peoples; and indeed I did not know that God of ancient mercy had loosed His faithful servant from impure flesh and prepared so sublime a seat for him in Heaven; I did not know, surely, the unsearchable ways of God; I did not know God's treasures of infinite wisdom; I did not know the secret and hidden decisions of God; since those whom He wishes He makes come to His presence in His unutterable wisdom. Moreover those He calls, predestines, justifies, and blesses, according as He has decreed. Thus since my eyes had never beheld such light, nor had I smelled such an odor, I was struck senseless by such new, unheard-of wonders. But as I was wildly trying to determine what this was, a voice broke forth from the light, saying these words:

"Augustine, Augustine, what are you seeking? Do you think that you can put the whole sea in a little vase? Enclose the world in a small fist? Make fast the heavens so that they may not keep going in their accustomed motion? Will your eye see what the eye of no man can see? Your ear hear what is received by no ear through sound? Do you think you can understand what no human heart has understood, nor even considered? What will be the end to an infinite thing? By what measure will you measure the immense? Sooner would the whole sea be shut in a very restricted vessel, sooner would a small fist hold the globe of the earth, sooner would the heavens cease from continuous motion, than you could understand a small part of the glory which the souls of the blessed possess without end, unless you have learned from experience, as I have. To speak briefly: Do not attempt to do impossible things until the course of your life is fulfilled. Do not seek them here or elsewhere, except where they can be found so quickly and happily. Here be content to perform such works that later, there, whence none who enter come out, you may completely have in eternity what you seek here to understand in some degree."

The message is more cogently put in the briefer description of the *Catalogus sanctorum*: "...a voice sounded from the light, which declared him to be guilty of too great presumption, that he, while in mortal flesh, should have thought of understanding eternal happiness, which would be possible for no mortal at all."

The scene in Carpaccio's painting (Fig. 3) corresponds with the text. The person represented

pendix II, below; Klapper, op.cit., pp. 255-261; Migne, op.cit., XXI, col. 284.

<sup>55.</sup> Iacopo da Varagine, Leggenda aurea, ed. Arrigo Levanti, Pistoia, 1926, III, p. 1246; Jacobi a Voragine, Legenda aurea, ed. Th. Graesse, Leipzig, 1850, p. 658; Jacobus de Varagine, The Golden Legend; or Lives of the Saints, as Englished by William Caxton, London, 1900, v, p. 208. I have found no mention of texts in which the legends of Jerome's death to be found in the letters appeared without their being ascribed to the letters themselves.

<sup>56.</sup> Venetian Hieronymus, fols. 22 r-22 v, transcribed in Ap-

<sup>57.</sup> The words "hora completorii" in the text identify the time of day. They refer to the last canonical hour, compline (Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, A Latin Dictionary, Oxford, 1945, p. 390). Since it is toward evening, a strong light would seem all the more miraculous.

<sup>58.</sup> Vicentine Catalogus sanctorum, fol. 237. See transcription in Appendix 11 below.

is in the attitude of attentiveness at a surprising interruption. He turns toward the source of the strong light that enters the painting. He has been writing upon a separate piece of paper laid on an open book. Perhaps it represents the letter he has begun to Jerome, resting on the book to be filled with the treatise.

The little dog looks alertly in the same direction. 50 In the preparatory drawing for the painting in the British Museum (Fig. 20),60 the master's attention seems divided. He turns toward the window while glancing back in the direction of the animal, as if it has alerted him to a strange circumstance.

The major role of the light in the painting has been noted by several authors even without any relationship to textual illustration. 61 The compositional predominance of the sharp-edged shadows calls to mind most strongly Carpaccio's Dream of St. Ursula, where a supernatural light enters with the angel from a door to the right.62

The stories of apparitions to Sulpicius Severus, Cyril, Eusebius (before his resuscitation of the three dead men), and of the second visit to Augustine now seem comparatively inappropriate as the source for Carpaccio's painting. Cyril and Eusebius, although entitled to the miter in the back of the room, 63 were not described as writing when their visions appeared. Furthermore, the first visit to Augustine is the only episode in which no vision is described in the texts, but only a voice coming from the light.

In support of the correspondence between the action of Carpaccio's painting and the event described in the text, several details characterizing Carpaccio's scholar confirm his reidentification as Augustine, as well as being compatible with the story thought to have been told by him.

The shell, which seems to form a part of a cluster of attributes with the significant miter and crozier (Fig. 5),64 had become associated with Augustine through a legend with a message similar to that of the text discussed here. 65 The story has often been noted as illustrated among pictures of Augustine from the period.66 It tells of a supernatural apparition to Augustine, while he was

59. Professor Erwin Panofsky suggested to me in his helpful response of August 16, 1957, to my enquiries in connection with this scene, that animals were credited during the period with superior awareness of the supernatural, as they had been in far earlier times (Numbers 22: 23ff., the story of Balaam's ass). He provided an example in the Annunciation to the Shepherds in the Grandes Heures de Rohan (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms lat. 9471). Another example, among Carpaccio's paintings, might be in his St. Ursula's Dream in the Academy in Venice (Fiocco, op.cit., pl. 42) and the preparatory drawing for it in the Uffizi in Florence (ibid., pl. 44). The dog's head is raised as the angel enters.

60. A. E. Popham, "Drawing by Vittore Carpaccio," British Museum Quarterly, 1X, 3, 1934-1935, pp. 83-84, pl. 22; Hans Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrat, The Drawings of the Venetian Painters in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, New York, 1944, p. 153, no. 617, pl. 21, 1; A. E. Popham and Philip Pouncey, Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, London, 1950, p. 22, no. 35. The drawing is British Museum no. 1924-12-8-1.

61. Adolfo Venturi, L'Arte a San Girolamo, Milan, 1924, 54; Guido Perocco, Guide de l'École St.-Georges des Esclavons, Venice, 1952, p. 19; Ruskin, op.cit., pp. 129, 130. 62. Fiocco, op.cit., pls. 42, 44. 63. A miter would be expected in a painting of Cyril as

Bishop of Jerusalem.

The story in which Jerome visits Eusebius is to be found in the "Cyril" letter (Klapper, op.cit., pp. 298-306; Venetian Hieronymus, fols. 25<sup>v</sup>-26<sup>v</sup>). Since Eusebius was an abbot in Bethlehem, the miter and crozier in Carpaccio's paintings might not be completely inappropriate if the seated man were Eusebius. On the attributes of abbots, see Kaftal, op.cit., p. xxii. Eusebius, however (ibid., col. 356), was represented in Tuscan painting simply as a monk. In the altarpiece by Bot-

ticini referred to above, which includes the predella scenes of Jerome, he has neither miter nor crozier (ibid., fig. 348).

Sulpicius Severus (360-420/25) was a priest and a writer, but not a bishop. In "Augustine's" letter he is referred to as "nostri Severi, quondam venerabilis Martini episcopi Turonensis discipuli," and a little later as "Supradictus noster Severus, vir doctrina et sapiencia pollens . . ." (Klapper, op.cit., pp. 256, 267; Venetian Hieronymus, fols. 22v, 23

64. There is no reason to suppose that Venetian iconographical tradition concerning the miter and crozier departed from that of art elsewhere. The miter and crozier are Augustine's attributes in Giovanni Bellini's SS. Jerome, Christopher, and Augustine of 1513 in the Church of San Giovanni Crisostomo in Venice (A. Venturi, Storia dell'arte italiana, Milan, 1914, VII, 4, p. 368, fig. 222). Carpaccio also used them for his St. Augustine in the retable representing St. Thomas Enthroned between Two Saints, Gemäldegalerie, Stuttgart (Fiocco, op.cit., pp. 48, 81, pl. 150).

65. Professor Panofsky also suggested to me (note 59 above) the possible reference of the shell in the painting. This legend, included in Petrus de Natalibus, Catalogus sanctorum, lib. VII, cap. 128 (Vicentine edition, fols. 205 v-206 r) is transcribed in Acta sanctorum, Paris and Rome, 1868, Aug. VI, p. 357. The Catalogus sanctorum, as noted above, also included in ab-breviated form the legends of the "Eusebius," "Augustine," and "Cyril" letters.

According to the story as it appears in the Golden Legend (tr. Caxton, v, p. 66) the child used a spoon, which replaces

the shell in several painted illustrations.

Ludwig and Molmenti (op.cit., p. 132) noted that the shell was an implement used by copyists for smoothing erasures on parchment. I have not encountered another example in study scenes of the period.

66. The episode was represented in Renaissance painting in Italy and Northern Europe. Kaftal (op.cit., col. 104, figs. 110, planning his work on the Trinity during a walk by the seaside, of a mysterious child who was trying to empty the sea into a hole, or ditch, with a shell. When Augustine commented that his task was impossible, the child answered that it was as possible as was Augustine's explanation of the mysteries of the Trinity. He likened the hole to a book, the sea to the Trinity, and the shell to the understanding of Augustine. The last of the three analogies ("assimilans foveam codici, mare Trinitati, cochleam intellectui Augustini") provides a symbolic significance for the shell. The similarity between the child's message and Jerome's as given above is striking.

If the shell, which in its practical use was an instrument for smoothing erasures on parchment, also carries a literary allusion to Augustine's intellect and the hopelessness of his self-imposed tasks, then other objects in the room may have symbolic significance of this sort, despite Carpaccio's well-known predilection for drawing from life. Most suggestive of speculation are the niche and altar, decorated respectively with a cherub and a statue of the Risen Christ. According to "Augustine," Jerome continued to speak to him after delivering the address quoted above, answering Augustine's questions on the Trinity, the generation and procession of the Son from the Father, and the heavenly hierarchy.68 Thus the statue and the decoration of the niche, so close to the shell, could signify the subjects with which the intellect of Augustine was attempting to deal.

The presence of music (Fig. 7) is particularly appropriate to a representation of Augustine. He would have been regarded as an authority on music (his De musica had already been published in Venice), of and one of the legends then current among stories of his life was the account of his composing and singing a Te Deum with St. Ambrose when that saint was baptizing him. 70 Augustine's Confessions include a chapter on his love of music, and the chapter is referred to in the Golden Legend. 71

The two pieces of music on the floor and on the stand are discussed by Dr. Edward Lowinsky below.78 The closed book with an elaborate cover erect on the table near the seated figure may also be a music book: similar ones, open and closed, appear among the angel-musicians of Carpaccio's altarpiece of the Madonna Enthroned in the Cathedral of Capodistria dated 1516.74

Other details, while they do not characterize Augustine individually, are suitable to his important position both in his priestly and his scholarly functions, while being compatible with the representation of a bishop.

His elevated degree in his role of functioning priest is emphasized by the presence of the miter and crozier at the altar equipped for the administering of the Eucharist (Fig. 5). Furthermore, the position of the chair and pulpit-like stand on a little dais to the left of the altar is the traditional one of the cathedra. The object on the shelf on the left wall which resembles a bell (Fig. 6) may be a bishop's candle.

Details in the area where the ecclesiastic sits, in the role of scholar apart from his priestly function,

<sup>114)</sup> gives one example by Benozzo Gozzoli from the same life cycle in San Gimignano which includes the scene of the first visit to Augustine described above, and one by Botticelli, also illustrated in Yukio Yashiro, Sandro Botticelli, Boston and London, 1929, plate between pp. 106 and 107. A version by Fra Filippo Lippi is given by Salomon Reinach, "La vision de Saint Augustin," Gazette des Beaux Arts, 6° ser., I, 1929, illustration and reference, p. 258. Künstle (op.cit., p. 108, fig. 41) reproduces a scene by Michael Pacher of St. Augustine in his Study which shows the child on the floor below him, a shell-like spoon in his hand. Among other examples are a Flemish version (G. J. Hoogewerff, "Een belangrijk schilderstak uit de Brugsche School te Jeruzalem," Onze Kunst, xxxxvi, 1929, pp. 196, 197 and plates between) and one by Rubens (K. Smits, "Rond St. Augustinus' beeltenis,"

Miscellanea Augustiniana, Rotterdam, 1930, p. 206, fig. 17).
67. Vicentine Catalogus sanctorum, fol. 206°; see note 65 above.

<sup>68.</sup> Klapper, op.cit., pp. 265-266; Venetian Hieronymus, fol. 23<sup>r</sup>; Vicentine Catalogus sanctorum, fol. 237<sup>v</sup>.
69. Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, Leipzig, 1925, III,

col. 75, no. 2866, lists an example as included in Augustinus, Opuscula, Venice, Dionysius Bertochus, 1491. The Vicentine Catalogus sanctorum lists De musica among Augustine's works

<sup>70.</sup> Golden Legend, tr. Caxton, v, p. 51; Vicentine Catalogus sanctorum, fol. 205 v.

<sup>71.</sup> Golden Legend, tr. Caxton, v, pp. 56-57; the Confessions, tr. Albert C. Outler, The Library of Christian Classics, Philadelphia, 1955 (pp. 230-231), includes a chapter on Augustine's love of music.

<sup>72.</sup> Both pieces were transcribed by Ludwig and Molmenti, op.cit., pp. 127-130. See p. 298 below.
73. See Dr. Lowinsky's Epilogue to this article.

<sup>74.</sup> Fiocco, op.cit., p. 84, pl. 175.

are also compatible with Augustine's elevated authority: the dais upon which he is seated, the two seals attached to packets on the dais (seals of vesica shape used by prelates), and the costume worn by the scholar. The cape, a mozzetta, was worn in combination with the white garment, a rochet, by bishops among other prelates. The red color of the cassock beneath, now commonly associated with the cardinalate, was then worn as well by lesser officials, including bishops. (Augustine, as far as I know, was not represented in art of the period as a cardinal bishop.)

The amount of emphasis placed on scholastic activity and the elegant elaboration of the equipment of Renaissance theologians and scholars is such that the room is, needless to say, appropriate for Augustine. Above the saint's writing table is a celestial sphere. Hanging in a row over the cupboard door are several astrolabes. Within the cupboard is a table with a lectern. Perhaps the slender, pointed, slightly oval objects vertically arranged on both shelves are pens, referring to Augustine's many writings, since they resemble the one in the saint's hand. The scissors, so prominently placed on the saint's writing table, may have a special significance, symbolic of the interpretation of the Scriptures by the Doctors of the Church.<sup>77</sup> The fragments of legible exposed writing on books in the room are unfortunately too incomplete, though they may not always have been, to be of more than speculative significance.<sup>78</sup>

The presence of surprisingly secular objects in the room, the statuettes of the horse and what appears to be a Venus on the shelf of the left wall, both resembling the remains of pagan antiquity, and the prominent sheet of music on the floor to the right, now established by Dr. Lowinsky as secular music, may seem at first glance inappropriate for Augustine's oratory. Yet when we consider the message being delivered by Jerome, that Augustine should concern himself more with deeds that will result in his future joys in Heaven than speculation about the nature of the happiness

75. In attempting to identify the articles of dress I have relied upon Egerton Beck, "Ecclesiastical Dress in Art," Burlington Magazine, VII, 1905, pp. 281-288, 373-376, 446-448; VIII, 1905-1906, pp. 47-50, 197-202, 271-281 and John A. Nainfa, Costume of Prelates of the Catholic Church, Baltimore, 1926. The cape has been described variously as brown (Ruskin, op.cit., p. 130) and black (Wilhelm Hausenstein, Das Werk des Vittore Carpaccio, Berlin and Leipzig, 1925, p. 111). It presently appears dark brown, probably because the strong light is represented as modifying the color of a black cape.

76. Beck (op.cit., VII, 285-288, 373-374) is emphatic on the point that red is not to be associated only with cardinals in the church dress of the period, and provides several instances

of its use by bishops. 77. Scissors are prominent also in Dürer's engraving of St. Jerome in His Study of 1514 (Erwin Panofsky, The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer, Princeton, 1943, II, pl. 208) and Ghirlandaio's St. Jerome in His Study (Van Marle, op.cit., XIII, fig. 10). Aside from their place in writers' equipment, they were in at least one instance given a symbolic meaning in connection with use of them in the Church. The thirteenth century Bishop of Mende, Gulielmus Durantis, in his Rationale Divinorum Officiorum, included the following symbolism: "The snuffers or scissors for trimming the lamps are the divine words by which men amputate the legal titles of the law, and reveal the shining spirit, according to that saying, 'Ye shall eat old store, and bring forth the old because of the new'" (William Durandus, The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments, tr. John M. Neale and Benjamin Webb, London, 1906, p. 54). If this interpretation had been a part of general Church symbolism, the scissors could conceivably refer to the exegetical function of both Jerome and Augustine.

78. According to Nolfo di Carpegna ("Il restauro dei dipinti del Carpaccio di S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni," Arte veneta, 1, 1947, p. 67) the paintings in the Scuola were crumbling and the pulverized color was slowly falling at the time of the restoration he describes. He also mentions a fire of 1912 nearby, when the paintings were taken from their frames and rolled

up in order to save them.

Ruskin (op.cit., p. 131) included in his description of the painting as St. Jerome in Heaven a statement by his consultant, James Reddie Anderson, that there was a very prominent illuminated R on one of the documents under the table, and surmised that it was the initial letter of "Resurrectio," later commenting (p. 132) that "The keynote is struck by the empty altar bearing the risen Lord." The book to which Anderson referred must be the open book leaning against the dais (Fig. 3). The letter R is clearly distinguishable by its red color from the remainder of the highly elaborated initial.

Naturally any interpretation of this initial must be entirely speculative. The problem is complicated further by the fact that not only first initials from works by saints were used in paintings of the period, but initials of words of any passages throughout their works which were considered significant by the artists (see the list of inscriptions on Tuscan paintings from Augustine's works given by Kaftal, op.cit., col. 101). Nevertheless, I should like to offer a guess stimulated indirectly by Ruskin's work. If the initial is indeed an "R," it could be the first letter of the following passage from the chapter on the Resurrection in Augustine's Enchiridion (XXIII, 3, 91): "The bodies of the saints, then, shall rise again free from blemish and deformity, just as they will be also free from corruption, encumbrance, or handicap. Their facility [facilitas] will be as complete as their felicity [felicitas] . . ." (tr. Albert C. Outler, ed.cit., VII, p. 392). The first word of the passage in the original is "Resurgent" (J. Rivière, Œuvres the Scient Augustin and the passage in the original is "Resurgent" (J. Rivière, Œuvres the Scient Augustin and the passage in the original is "Resurgent" (J. Rivière, Œuvres the Scient Augustin and the passage in the original is "Resurgent" (J. Rivière, Œuvres the Scient Augustin and the passage in the original is "Resurgent" (J. Rivière, Œuvres the Scient Augustin and the passage in the passage de Saint Augustin, 1re sér., 1x, p. 264). The allusion could be to Augustine's preoccupation, at the time of the episode told in the letter, with his projected treatise on "how much glory and joy the souls of the blessed have who rejoice with Christ" (see above, p. 292). The Enchiridion was frequently published during the period, and Venetian copies of 1483, 1485, and 1491 are listed in Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, Leipzig, 1926, III, cols. 72, 73, 75. It also appears in the list of Augustine's works in the Vicentine Catalogus sanctorum (fols. 206<sup>r</sup>- enjoyed there by the saints (naturally included among his own hopes), then these details might be regarded as emphasizing a contrast between the two saints shown in the same group of pictures. In the previous two pictures Jerome has appeared heroic in aiding a wounded beast and ascetic in dying in a state of self-denial and simplicity of dress. The following picture of Augustine in a handsome study-oratory which contains objects alluding to worldly as well as religious pre-occupations adds a final contribution to Carpaccio's characterization of Jerome through contrast. Since Augustine's susceptibility to the pleasures of eye and ear were well known from his Confessions, it seems fitting that Carpaccio should employ them in this painting of Augustine to illustrate the story, then well known, of his friend's posthumous admonitions.

In illustrating this scene, Carpaccio also posed a problem of particular concern during his period: the relative merits of deed and thought, of action and philosophy. Suavely, in this instance, and with a touch of humor, he approached the dilemma faced by his contemporaries.

#### APPENDIX I

#### THE LEGENDS

The circumstances of the forgery of the letters are not known. Their first known appearance was in Legendae de sanctis<sup>80</sup> by Petrus Calo de Clugia, a Dominican friar (d. 1348), a compiler of existing material. At least one Venetian fourteenth century manuscript of his work exists,<sup>81</sup> but unlike many other such compilations, it was apparently not printed in the fifteenth century.

Probably before 1350, Johannes Andreae, a Bolognese author on law, included the letters in his *Hieronymianus*. 82 He revealed himself as an ardent devotee of St. Jerome and wrote that he had dictated to painters the manner in which they should represent him: with a cardinal's hat and a lion at his feet. 83

Around 1370, Johann von Neumarkt, Bishop of Olmütz, of the Praemonstratensian order, encountered the *Hieronymianus* while traveling in Italy and translated it into German.<sup>84</sup>

Petrus Natalis or de Natalibus, a Venetian who became in 1370 Bishop of Equilio or Jesolo and was last

mentioned in 1400,85 included the legends originating in the letters in his *Catalogus sanctorum*,86 of which there exist subsequent printed editions, one of Vicenza of 1493 and two of Venice, 1500 and 1506.87

At least twenty-eight Italian printed editions including the letters were made between 1475 and 1500, eleven of which were printed in Venice. 88 The *Hieronymianus* by Johannes Andreae was printed in Cologne in 1482 and in two editions in Basel in 1514. 89

Klapper believes that the letters originated in Southern France or more probably in Northern Italy in Dominican circles, toward the end of the thirteenth century. The Acta Sanctorum also assigned them to that time. Leavellera, from internal theological content, regards the "Eusebius" letter as somewhat earlier than the other two, which he believes were written by another author near 1300.

Manuscripts and printed works including the letters appeared during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Denmark, Holland, France, Spain and Germany.<sup>93</sup>

79. Among earthly pleasures of the eye mentioned in Augustine's confessions (Outler, ed.cit., p. 232) are statuary and other products of the arts. The Confessions were well known in Carpaccio's period (Golden Legend, tr. Caxton, v, pp. 48ff.; Vicentine Catalogus sanctorum, where they are listed in fols. 206<sup>r</sup>-206<sup>v</sup>; Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, Leipzig, 1926, III, cols. 72, 73, 75).

80. Acta sanctorum, Paris and Rome, 1865, Septembris VII, p. 423.

81. Acta sanctorum, loc.cit.

82. Joseph Klapper, "Aus der Frühzeit des Humanismus," Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstage von Max Koch, Breslau, 1926, p. 256.

83. As translated by Richter, op.cit., pp. 500-501 and Pillion, op.cit., p. 306.

84. Joseph Klapper, "Schriften Johanns von Neumarkt," in Konrad Burdach, Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation, Berlin, 1932, VI, 2, pp. v-vi; Anton Benedict, Das Leben des heil. Hieronymus, Prague, 1880, p. ii.

onymus, Prague, 1880, p. ii. 85. "Le légendier de Pierre Calo," Analecta Bollandiana, XXIX, 1910, pp. 34-35.

86. Acta sanctorum, op.cit.

87. Ludwig Hain, Repertorium Bibliographicum, 11, 1, Stuttgart and Paris, 1831, p. 477. The British Museum, Catalogue of Printed Books, London, 1886, XXXV, lists additional subsequent editions of Lyons of 1509, 1519, 1521, and 1542.

subsequent editions of Lyons of 1509, 1519, 1521, and 1542.

88. Hain, op.cit., 11, 1, pp. 60-62; D. Reichling, Appendices ad Hainii-Copingeri Repertorium Bibliographicum, Munich, 1906, 11, 1, p. 50.

89. British Museum, Catalogue of Printed Books, 1886, 11; Biblioteca hagiographica latina, Brussels, 1898-1899, 1, p. 157. 90. Joseph Klapper, "Schriften Johanns von Neumarkt," in Konrad Burdach, Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation, Berlin, 1932, VI, 2, p. v; idem, "Aus der Frühzeit des Humanismus," Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstage von Max Koch, Breslau,

1926, p. 262. 91. Acta sanctorum, loc.cit.

92. Ferdinand Cavallera, Saint Jérôme, sa vie et son œuvre, Louvain and Paris, 1922, 11, 1, pp. 144-145. For this reference I should like to thank Father Paul Grosjean of the Société des Bollandistes of Brussels.

93. On a Danish manuscript: Daniel Dodge, "An Apocryphal Letter of St. Augustine to Cyril and a Life of St. Jerome, Translated into Danish," Publications of the Modern

were spurious as early as 1516 or 1517.94 They were De historia SS. imaginum et picturarum.90

Perhaps Erasmus first pointed out that the letters thoroughly condemned in 1570 by J. Molanus in his

#### APPENDIX II

TEXTS OF THE LEGEND OF JEROME'S FIRST VISIT TO AUGUSTINE

Hieronymus. Vita et transitus, Venice, Pasquale and Bertochus, 1485, fols. 22r-22v (Huntington Library no. 3079), as transcribed by Eugene Brunelle.

Sed ut merita Hieronymi santissimi non lateant: quid erga me, divina annuente clementia, in ipso sui obitus die acciderit, enarrabo.

Quomodo apparuit sancto Augustino episcope.

Eodem namque die et hora quo exutus putredinis et immundicie carnis toga Hieronymus sanctissimus vestimentum perpetue immortalitatis inextimabilis glorie et leticie induit dum yponie in cellula mea quiescens avide cogitans quales inessent animabus beatorum qui cum christo gaudent glorie et leticiarum quantitas cupiens inde ex hac materia brevem componere tractatum precibus impulsus nostri severi quondam venerabilis Martini turonensis episcopi discipuli carta calamo pugilarique in manibus susceptis, brevem vellem scribere epistolam sanctissimo Hieronymo destinandam ut quicquid ex hoc sentiret responderet. Sciebam enim in tam difficili questione a nullo alio viventium me posse doceri evidentius cunque iam scribens salutationis exordium Hieronymo praenotarent ineffabile subito lumen vestris invisum temporibus nostris que nomine linguis declarandum cum ineffabili inauditaque odorum omnium fragrentia cellula in qua stabam intravit. Hora iam completorii. Quo a me viso stupore admirationeque commotus cum et membrorum repente virtutes amisi. Nesciebam etenim tunc quod dextera mirabilis dei exaltasset servum suum: notas faciens in populis virtutes suas. Nesciebam etenim quod deus antique miserationis servum suum fidelem a carnis immundiciis dissolvisset et tam sublimem ei, in celo sedem preparasset. Nesciebam certe investigabiles vias domini. Nesciebam thesauros infinite dei sapientie. Secreta et occulta dei iudicia non agnoscebam, quam quos vult facit sua ineffabili sapientia ad sui agnitionem venire. Quos autem vocat, predestinat, iustificat, et beatificat prout decrevit. Itaque quia talem mei oculi numquam perspexerant lucem talem olphatus meus odorem non senserat, non tam novus tam inauditis

miris obstupescebam inter hec autem meis in me perstrepentibus cogitationibus quod hoc esset de luce dicens verba vox emicuit. "Augustine, augustine, quid queris: putasne brevi immittere vasculo mare totum, brevi includere pugillo terrarum orbem, celum firmare ne usitatos exerceat motus. Que oculus nullus hominum videre potuit tuus videbit? Que auris nulla per sonum hausit audiet tua, que cor humanum nullatenus intellexit, nec etiam cogitavit, existimas te posse intelligere? Infinite rei quis erit finis? Immensa, qua mensura metieris? potius totum mare artissimo clauderetur vasculo; potius terrarum orbem parvulus teneret pugillus; potius a motu continuo celum desisteret: quam gaudiorum et glorie quibus beatorum anime sine fine potiuntur minorem intelligeres particulam, nisi ut ego experientia docereris. Discurre adhuc breve temporis spacium; impossibilia facere ne coneris, donec impleatur vite tue cursus. Hic non querasque non alibi, nisi quo tam feliciter propero inveniri possunt. Hic satage talia exercere opera, ut postmodum ibi quae hic aliqualiter intelligere cupis, totaliter in eternum habeas, inde qui intrant, nullatenus exeunt."

Petrus de Natalibus, Catalogus sanctorum, Vicenza, Ca Zeno, 1493, fols. 237 -238 (Huntington Library no. 4120).

". . . vox de luce insonuit: quae ipsum de nimia presumptione redarguit: eoque existens in carne mortali: beatitudinem eternam comprehendere cogitasset: quod nulli mortalium aliquanto possibile foret. Cum autem Augustinus ab eo queteret quis esset. Respondit se esse hieronymi animam: cui ipse epistolam notare ceperat destinandam: que ipsa hora a carne soluta ad celi gaudia properabat. Cum autem Augustinus ab ea multas questiones de trinitate et angelica natura atque de beata vita quesivisset: et ipse ad singula clarius respondisset: lux illa cum voce disparuit: odor tamen pluribus diebus permansit."

#### [UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA]

Language Association of America, VIII, 4, 1893, pp. 381-4073 Gunnar Knudsen, Mariager Legende-Haandskrift, Copenhagen, 1917-1930. Printed editions have been listed from France, England,

Spain, Germany, Switzerland, and several places in Italy besides Florence and Venice (Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, Leipzig, 1926, II, col. 202 on the Hieronymianus; Hain, op.cit., Reichling, op.cit., and Biblioteca hagiographica latina, Brussels, 1898-1899, I, p. 157 on editions of Hieronymus. Vita et transitus; British Museum, Catalogue of Printed Books, 1886, XXXV, on Petrus de Natalibus, Catalogus sanctorum). 94. Migne, op.cit., col. 281 includes an "Admonitio" prefacing the letters in which Erasmus is mentioned among the theologians who warned that they were false. His Life of Jerome of 1517 might have been the occasion of his notice of

the letters (British Museum, Catalogue of Printed Books,

95. First printed in 1570. The edition available to me is of Louvain, 1771, III, pp. 339-340.

# EPILOGUE: THE MUSIC IN "ST. JEROME'S STUDY"

#### EDWARD E. LOWINSKY

HE two pieces of music in Carpaccio's St. Jerome in His Study—now shown to be St. Augustine Visited by St. Jerome (Fig. 7)—one appearing on the large single sheet standing on the floor, the other in the small book in quarto resting on a lectern, both are written in choirbook style: each voice-part has its own field on the page so that three or four singers can sing the parts from one single sheet or book. Gustav Ludwig and Pompeo Molmenti, in their monograph on Vittore Carpaccio-of which the French translation by H. L. de Perera, Paris, 1910, was at my disposal-published a painstaking transcription of the single parts followed by a score. Furthermore, a detail of the music and a transcription of the three-part work is available in Gaetano Cesari's preface to the edition of Giovanni Gabrieli's Canzone e Sonate . . . of 1597, Istitutioni e Monumenti Dell'Arte Musicale Italiana, Milano, 1932, pp. xxxIII-xxxIV. We followed their transcription except for adding in the four-part work from the volume in quarto, the notes marked by Ludwig and Molmenti as no longer visible. Since at least two or three parts are perfectly legible at all times, it is possible to supplement plausible notes from the harmonic context. All added notes are in parenthesis; so are the flats and sharps that indicate where the singers, according to the rules of the time, lowered or raised a tone. Ludwig and Molmenti, who believed the seated cleric to be St. Jerome, try to interpret the music in connection with St. Jerome's achievements as reformer of the sacred liturgy. But even if the contribution of the Saint had extended to the musical part of the liturgy—which it did not—the two compositions on Carpaccio's painting contradict such an explanation. The difficulty in discussing the music lies in the absence of the text. But even so it is possible to make the following observations: The three-part composition (see Example 1) written for men's voices on the sheet at floor level seems to be a secular work of Italian origin. This needs to be stressed since Italy was at the time inundated by Flemish music and musicians. In contrast to the contrapuntal technique of the Flemish masters this piece has the typically Italian harmonic texture; it is set prevailingly in strict homophony. Its lively rhythm (see especially the rhythmic pattern of measures 3-4 repeated in measures 5-6, 10-11), the beginning with upbeat in all parts, exceptional at the time and impossible in sacred music, the repetitions of brief incisive motives, and the rapid parlando—indicated through tone repetitions demanding a declamation of one syllable to a tone—are all undeniable features of secular style. Indeed, we may have here a Venetian folk song such as Carpaccio must have heard daily in the streets and on the canals.1

Gaetano Cesari, the only music historian who has dealt with Carpaccio's painting, as far as I know, restricts his commentaries mainly to the three-part work. He is not interested in the significance of the music in the wider context of the painting. Cesari was obviously hampered in his analysis of the three-part composition by the current interpretation of the painting. His commentaries are interesting, because in spite of his efforts to explain the music so that it would

text,"

<sup>1.</sup> For songs of this kind see Knud Jeppesen's study "Venetian Folk-Songs of the Renaissance" in Papers Read at the International Congress of Musicology, New York, 1939, pp. 62-75. A four-part song quoted by Jeppesen (p. 68) particularly resembles our three-part song through its gay rhythm, homophonic texture, and its parlando character. Of the words that usually go with this kind of music Jeppesen's observation gives an idea. "It is," he says, "a dreadfully indecent

<sup>2.</sup> I except Gustave Reese, who in his Music of the Renaissance (New York, 1954, p. 167) writes: "Two pieces, which though textless appear to be laude of c. 1500, are shown in Carpaccio's St. Jerome in his Oratory." A lauda is a partsetting of religious poetry, mostly in the vernacular, by Italian composers; it flourished at the end of the Quattrocento and the beginning of the Cinquecento.



fit into a painting of a sacred subject, his knowledge of Italian secular music was such that the true nature of the work could not escape him.8 I translate his remarks: "Considering the scarcity of musical monuments of the time, a testimony from Venetian painting around 1500—i.e. from the same city of lagoons in which Giovanni Gabrieli later was to compose his imposing instrumental canzoni-acquires a significance not to be overlooked. We refer to the music put by Carpaccio in his well-known painting of St. Jerome. A great artist, Venetian by adoption and resident of Venice, Carpaccio represented in that painting, completed around 1505, two books, in one of which one reads music for three viols or trombones. This short composition, since it belongs to a sacred pictorial subject and was placed near to a vocal composition on a religious subject\* presented on the other book, may logically be understood to be an instrumental composition, likewise sacred. And surely, its expression is not far removed from that of the Lamentations of the Venetian organist and frottolist Francesco d'Ana printed by Petrucci in 1506." After having thus tried to account for the music in the context of a Venetian painting of 1505 on a sacred subject, Cesari now turns to the music itself: "However, in that staccato homophony, in the leading role of the highest voice, in the repeated notes, and in the harmonic succession of chords, one recognizes also the characteristic style of our secular music of popular inspiration, of which the piece chosen by Carpaccio could be the first original echo reproduced by instruments." I differ only with Cesari's

<sup>3.</sup> He wrote "Le Origini del Madrigale Cinquecentesco," Rivista musicale italiana, XIX, 1912, pp. 1-82. The edition of Le frottole nell'edizione di Ottavanio Petrucci, I, Lībri, I-III (1504-1505) as volume I of the Instituta et monumenta pubblicati dall'Istituto Gaetano Cesari, Cremona, 1954, is based on his transcriptions.

<sup>4.</sup> Cesari uses the words "argomento religioso." On the illustration accompanying his analysis the music of the three-

part song is quite legible; the four-part composition, however, appears unfortunately blurred. I cannot determine whether the beginning of the soprano has the incipit of a text—an assumption suggested by Cesari's choice of words.

After these lines were written, Mrs. Roberts visited Venice, examined Carpaccio's painting and found that this composition had indeed a text, of which only the first word—Deus—was still clearly legible.

belief that our three-part piece might be an instrumental composition. The absence of the text—and how could Carpaccio put a secular and probably lascivious text on his painting?—leads him to this conclusion. The piece has all the characteristics of the secular vocal music of the time. Besides, it was not unusual to publish vocal music without text. A few years before Carpaccio completed his painting, Ottaviano Petrucci of Venice printed the first collection of polyphonic music, secular chansons entitled Odhecaton, without text.

The four-part work written on the small quarto volume appears to be a piece of sacred music. The first strong indication is the steady slow rhythm of the melody, impossible in a secular work of the period. The clear tonal direction, the simple harmonic texture, the unembellished melody and rhythm point again to Italian origin. The melody is in the top voice; it sounds like an old hymn tune—and this gains special significance through Mrs. Roberts' new interpretation (see Example 2).

Whereas a search among mediaeval hymnaries did not produce the desired results, it can be shown that the melody has the essential characteristics of a hymn. Indeed, it brings to mind the sound and structure of the hymns attributed to St. Ambrosius, "Father of Latin hymnody" and teacher, converter, and friend of St. Augustine. Ambrosian hymns are written in iambic tetrameters, each verse containing four lines. How exactly our melody answers the requirements of an Ambrosian hymn, in formal and metrical respects at any rate, can be demonstrated by fitting the words of an Ambrosian hymn text to it. We choose *Deus creator omnium*, one of the four hymns that St. Augustine himself ascribed to St. Ambrose —ascriptions on which modern hymnological research is based. All we have to do is to split the breve in measure two into two semibreves—a procedure also necessary in some contemporary frottola compositions—and the text fits without a snag; the fermatas come, as they should, at the end of each line of text (see Example 3).



Now the question arises as to the significance of the two compositions. The opposition, or should we not say—in view of their location—the superposition, of sacred and secular music contradicts the interpretation of Ludwig and Molmenti cited above. It would not fit into a painting of St. Jerome, but it fits admirably into one of St. Augustine. It is a wholly appropriate symbol of his life, and it illustrates in particular the famous garden scene in the *Confessions*: Augustine, overwhelmed by his inner troubles and deeply desirous of overcoming his worldly temptations, breaks out in tears; leaving his friend Alypius alone and flinging himself down under a fig tree, he exclaims:

5. See the edition by Helen Hewitt (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), who supplied the missing texts from other sources.

6. For example, the 557 hymn tunes assembled in the first volume of the *Monumenta monodica Medii Aevi*, ed., B. Stäblein, Kassel and Basel, 1956, do not contain the melody of our composition.

7. Clemens Blume in The Catholic Encyclopaedia (see "Hymn").

8. "It has gone unnoticed so far that the ideal system of metrics as described by Augustine (De Musica, Lib. 11-111), based as it is on the number four, corresponds precisely to the structure of the Ambrosian hymn seen as a whole and in detail.

As meter and verse according to the law of progressio quaternaria consist of no more than 32 temporal units, so does the genuine Ambrosian hymn constructed of iambic dipodies contain 32 (4x8) lines. The conclusion suggests itself, therefore, that a certain metrical principle lay at the root of St. Ambrosius's hymns that was elaborated and expressed in a wider context by his pupil Augustine." (See Carl-Allan Moberg, Die liturgischen Hymnen in Schweden, Copenhagen, 1947, p. 20.)

9. See for the sources in St. Augustine's writings Carl-Allan Moberg, op.cit., p. 9 n. 5.

How long, how long? Tomorrow, and tomorrow? Why not now? Why is there not this hour an end to my uncleanness? 10

I was saying these things and weeping in the most bitter contrition of my heart, when, lo, I heard the voice as of a boy or girl, I know not which, coming from a neighbouring house, chanting, and oft repeating, "Take up and read; take up and read." Immediately my countenance was changed, and I began most earnestly to consider whether it was usual for children in any kind of game to sing such words; nor could I remember ever to have heard the like. So, restraining the torrent of my tears, I rose up, interpreting it no other way than as a command to me from Heaven to open the book, and to read the first chapter I should light upon. For I had heard of Antony, that, accidentally coming in whilst the gospel was being read, he received the admonition as if what was read were addressed to him, "Go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come and follow me." And by such oracle was he forthwith converted unto Thee. So quickly I returned to the place where Alypius was sitting; for there had I put down the volume of the apostles, when I rose thence. I grasped, opened, and in silence read that paragraph on which my eyes first fell,—"Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof." No further would I read, nor did I need; for instantly, as the sentence ended—by a light, as it were, of security into my heart—all the gloom of doubt vanished away.

I believe that the two pieces of music, the secular and the sacred, symbolize the two lives of Augustine, before and after his conversion, and that, in particular, the hymn-like tune of the four-part work was designed to evoke the image of St. Ambrose, converter of Augustine. But there seems to exist a second layer of meaning.

All through the Middle Ages Augustine was renowned for his treatise De Musica. For the most part De Musica deals with those aspects that vocal music based on words has in common with poetry, i.e. with syllables, metrical feet, rhythm, meter, verse. These are the subjects dealt with in the first five books. In the sixth book Augustine discusses "the ascent from rhythm in sense to the immortal rhythm which is in truth." Apologizing for having spent so much time on so worldly a matter, or, in his own words, "on this childish task," he explains that the only justification for his having written the five books on music lies in that it may "lead young people of ability, and perhaps older people too, gradually, with Reason for our guide, from the senses to God." And now Augustine proceeds, in true Neoplatonic fashion, to construct a hierarchy of rhythms from its lowest form, corporeal rhythm, to its highest, judicial rhythm, i.e. "the faculty of assent to and dissent from rhythms—'giving judgment by natural right.' "18

Augustine emphasizes, time and again, that in this scale of rhythms "we must not hate what is below us, but rather with God's help, put it in its right place." He recognizes that the rhythm of a lower order "has a beauty within the limitations of its own kind"; he does not believe, therefore, that "Divine Providence (would) regard this kind of beauty with jealous disapproval."

The three-part composition of secular origin represents rhythm in its low form, it is the Venetian counterpart of the "rhythms which re-echo through those vicious theatres." Symbolically, the painter places it as low as possible, on the bare floor. The four-part composition which so much resembles an ancient hymn that one can accompany it with the words of a hymn by St. Ambrose, represents a higher form of rhythm. The painter expresses this not only by locating it on a higher level, but also by substituting the loose sheet by a bound book, and by placing it on a lectern. Significantly, the sheet and the book of music are followed by the hour glass and the celestial sphere, symbols of higher forms of rhythm regulating Life and the Universe. Is not this order symbolical of St. Augustine's notion of "the ascent from rhythm in sense to the immortal rhythm which is in truth"?

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<sup>10.</sup> The Confessions of St. Augustine, translated and annotated by J. G. Pilkington, New York, 1943, pp. 185-186.

11. St. Augustine's De Musica. A Synopsis. By W. F. Jackson Knight, London, n.d., p. 85.

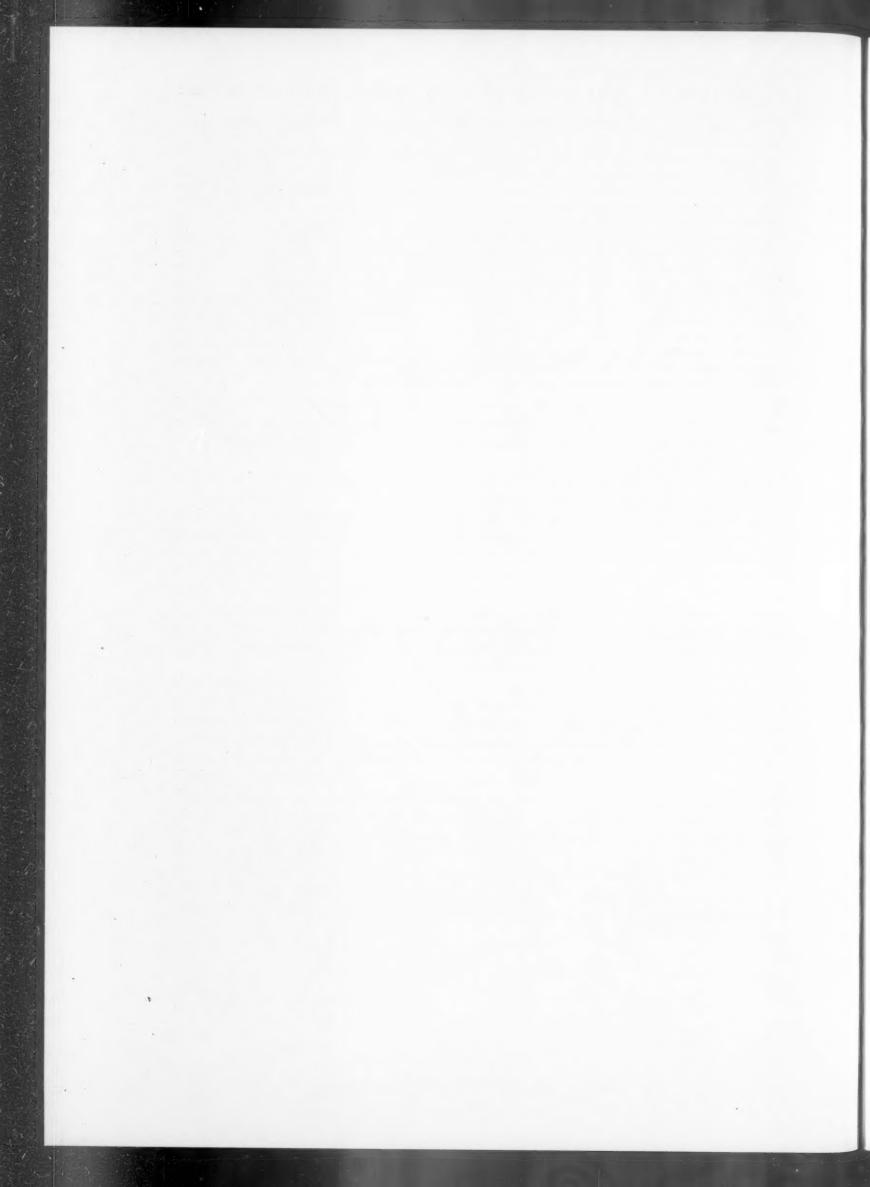
12. Ibid.

<sup>13.</sup> Ibid., p. 88. After several attempts Augustine arrives at a final division into six different classes (ibid., p. 104) ordered from the lowest to the highest form.

<sup>14.</sup> Ibid., p. 107.

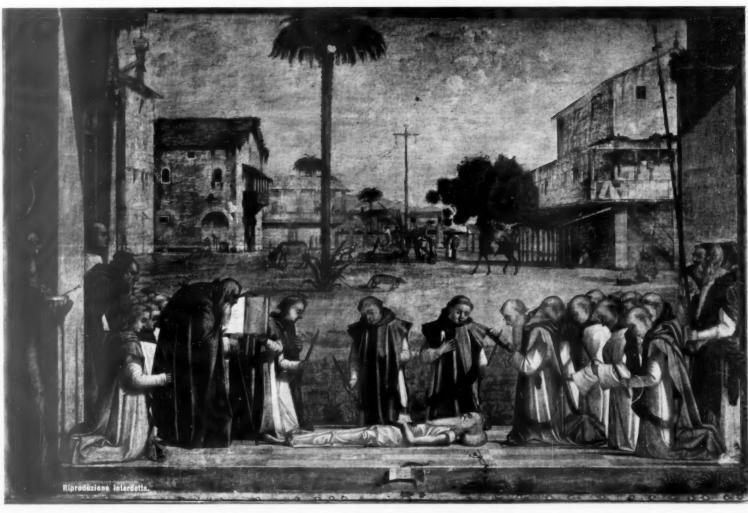
<sup>15.</sup> Ibid., p. 110.

<sup>16.</sup> Ibid., p. 90.

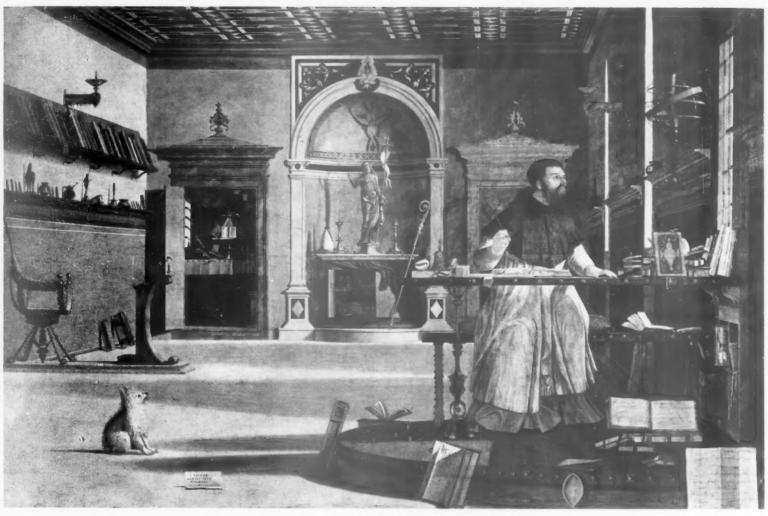




1. Carpaccio, St. Jerome Receiving the Lion. Venice, Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni (photo: Alinari)



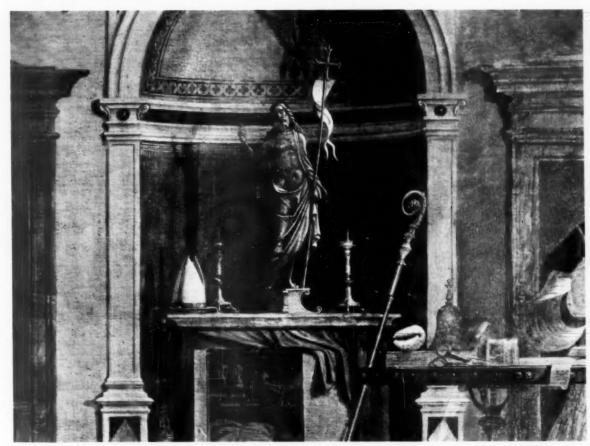
2. Carpaccio, Death of St. Jerome. Venice, Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni (photo: Alinari)



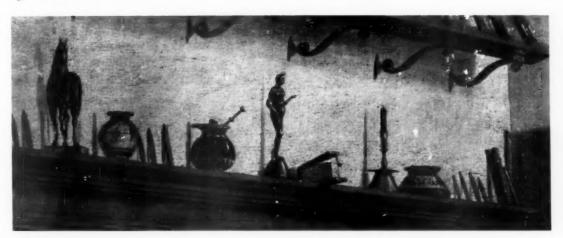
3. Carpaccio, St. Augustine Visited by St. Jerome. Venice, Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni (Courtesy Scuola di San Giorgio)



4. Botticini, St. Augustine Visited by SS. Jerome and John the Baptist London, National Gallery (Courtesy National Gallery)



5.



6.



7.

5-7. Carpaccio, St. Augustine Visited by St. Jerome (details) (photos: Alinari, Fig. 5; Foto Fiorentini, Venice, Figs. 6-7)



8. Fra Filippo Lippi, *Death of St. Jerome*, Prato, Cathedral (photo: Alinari)



11. Benozzo Gozzoli, St. Augustine Hearing the Voice of St. Jerome San Gimignano, Sant'Agostino (photo: Alinari)



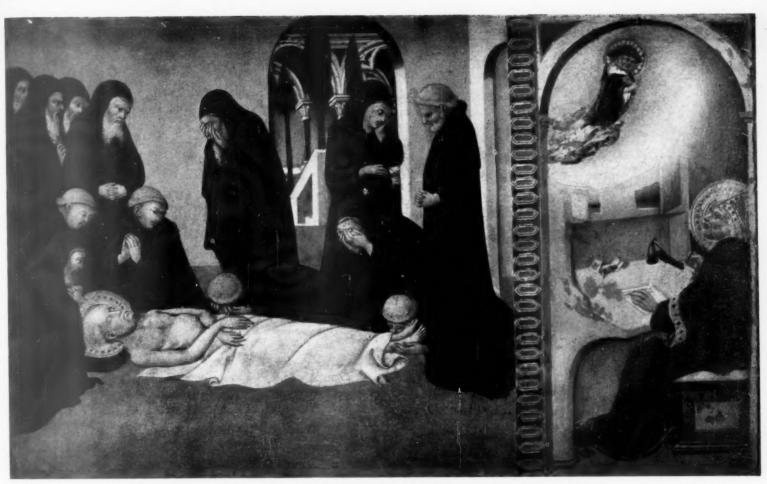
9. Detail of Fig. 8



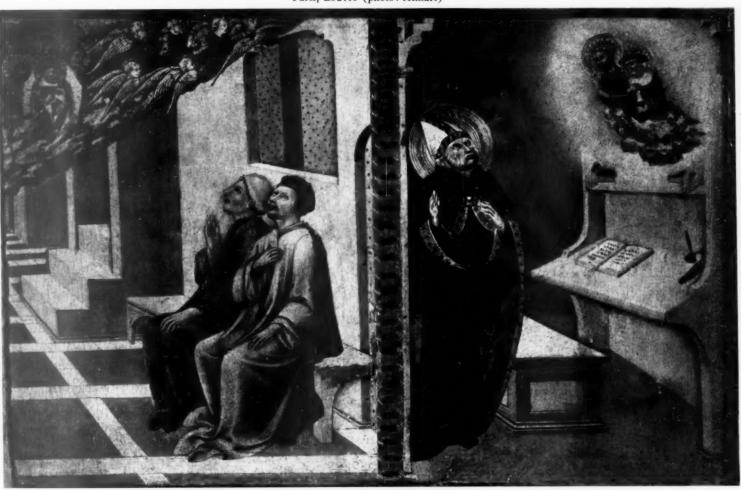
10. School of Fra Angelico, St. Augustine Visited by St. Jerome Chartres, Depository of the Louvre (photo: Musée de Chartres)



12. Botticelli, St. Augustine in His Study. Florence, Ognissanti (photo: Alinari)



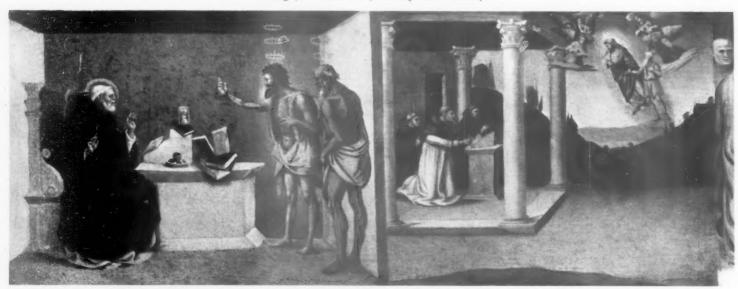
13. Sano di Pietro, Death of St. Jerome; St. Augustine Visited by St. Jerome Paris, Louvre (photo: Alinari)



14. Sano di Pietro, Sulpicius Severus Visited by St. Jerome; St. Augustine Visited by SS. Jerome and John the Baptist. Paris, Louvre (photo: Alinari)



15. Matteo di Giovanni, St. Augustine Visited by SS. Jerome and John the Baptist Chicago, Art Institute (Courtesy Art Institute)



16. Signorelli, St. Augustine Visited by SS. Jerome and John the Baptist; Sulpicius Severus Visited by St. Jerome London, National Gallery (Courtesy National Gallery)



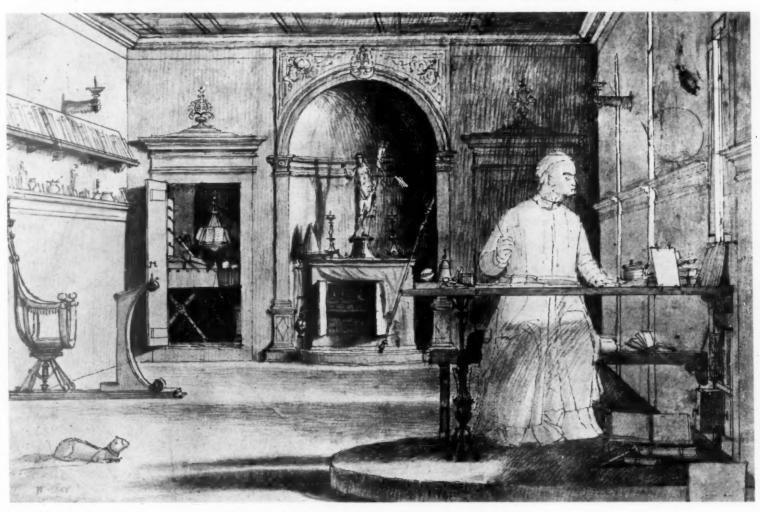
17. Signorelli, St. Cyril Visited by St. Jerome. London, National Gallery (Courtesy National Gallery)



18. Giovanni Mansueti, St. Augustine Visited by St. Jerome. The Hague Ministry of Culture (Courtesy Netherlands Ministry of Culture)



19. St. Augustine Visited by St. Jerome. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms 304 (Courtesy Walters Art Gallery)



20. Carpaccio, Drawing for St. Augustine Visited by St. Jerome London, British Museum (Courtesy British Museum)



1. Giorgione, Fête Champêtre. Paris, Louvre (photo: Alinari)



2. Poetry. "Tarocchi" Card, Series E (Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)



3. Raphael, *Poetry*. Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura (photo: Alinari)



4. Music. "Tarocchi" Card, Series E (Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

### POESIA AND THE FETE CHAMPÊTRE

#### PATRICIA EGAN

I

attributed to Giorgione, was transferred, during the French Revolution, from the royal collection at Versailles to the Louvre, where it hangs today (Fig. 1). The present titles of the painting have identified it for more than a century and a half, since shortly after it changed ownership; before 1800 it was known more simply as Pastorale. These two forms of its title stand for two different interpretations of its subject, those presently used describing the activities of the people out-of-doors, the earlier one bringing out the poetic appearance of the scene as a whole. In a "fête champêtre," as in any social occasion held sur l'herbe, we may expect to find lingering traces of the artificiality of indoor life; in a "pastorale" the event will seem rather to be spontaneous, arising typically from the mood which has been engendered by the delightful surroundings.

Neither the original title of the painting nor the name of its painter has come down to us. One eighteenth century critic was apparently no more satisfied with his title, "Pastorale," than are we with "Fête Champêtre." A title has yet to be found which comprehends the harmonious entirety of the scene and the thematic union among its parts. Some enigmatic features of the painting have been discussed for generations; much has also been written about its authorship, and its general style rather than its particular qualities. It is our purpose here to examine the parts themselves, and we may best begin with those in the front plane.

Two women, almost nude, occupy the foreground: one is standing before us on the left as she

1. Attribution and analysis of style are not the concern of this study. To facilitate discussion, the painting is assumed to be a late work of Giorgione, ca. 1508-1510, although nothing in the argument precludes other opinions on this matter. For a bibliographical summary of attribution see Hans Tietze, Titian, London, 1937, p. 338; other bibliography is cited below in note 5. I wish to thank Dr. H. W. Janson of New York University for his suggestions, and Drs. Samuel C. Chew, Professor Emeritus of English, Bryn Mawr College, and Edward Lowinsky, Professor of Music, University of California, for replying to my inquiry in their respective fields. Other acknowledgments are included in the notes. My debt to Professor Emeritus Walter Friedlaender of New York University may be discerned throughout this essay.

2. The recorded history of the painting begins after 1671, when it was sold from the Jabach Collection to Colbert for Louis XIV. It was said by Jabach to have been bought (ca. 1650) from the collection of Charles I of England, who in turn is said to have acquired it from the collection of Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua (ca. 1627). The painting does not appear in the inventories of the latter two collections, however. Cf. Fernand Engerand, Inventaire des tableaux du Ros..., Paris, 1899, pp. 64-65; Alexandre Tuetey and Jean Guiffrey, "La Commission du museum et la création du Musée du Louvre (1792-1793)," Archives de l'art français, n.s., III, 1909, p. 9; Fritz Lugt, Les marques de collections de dessins et d'estampes, Amsterdam, 1921, p. 551, col. 2.

3. LeBrun inventory, 1683; Bailly inventory, 1715 (both from Engerand, op.cit., p. 65); Recueil d'estampes d'après les plus beaux tableaux dans le cabinet du roy..., compiled by Joseph Antoine Crozat, 2nd ed., Paris, 1763, II, p. 23; Roland catalogue, 1792 (from Tuetey and Guiffrey, loc.cit.). All of the aforementioned cite "Pastorale" as the title. The first instance of "Concert Champêtre" seems to be in A. M.

Filhol and J. Lavallée, Galerie du Musée Napoléon, Paris, 1804, 111, fasc. 36, p. 5 and pl. 111 (also numbered pl. 213 in the entire volume), the title that is in general use from then on. George Martin Richter (Giorgio da Castelfranco, Chicago, 1937, pp. 232-233) recommends the resumption of the title "Pastorale"; "Idyll" is preferred by Ludwig Justi (Giorgione, Berlin, 1926, 11, p. 218).

4. Crozat, Recueil, loc.cit.: "... ce grand Peinture y a representé dans une campagne agréable, des gens qui forment un concert; mais sacrifiant à l'Art les règles de la bienséance, il a hazardé d'y introduire, sans trop de raison, des femmes nues qui accompagnent deux jeunes hommes vêtus suivant la mode qui étoit en usage en Italie dans la commencement du seizième siècle. Il est vrai qu'au moyen de cette licence, il a pu faire valoir tous ses talents pour la couleur; car les etoffes qu'il a employé aux habits de ces deux jeunes gens sont de nature à faire beaucoup valoir les carnations des deux figures nues, qui sont sur le premier plan du Tableau. L'une qui est debout, semble vouloir puiser de l'eau à une fontaine; l'autre qui est assise sur un gazon, tient une flûte, et par son attitude elle paroît écouter avec beaucoup d'attention le jeune homme qui joue du luth. . . ."

5. Most recent bibliography included in Giorgione e i giorgioneschi, ed. Pietro Zampetti, Venice, 1955, pp. 303-314 (bibliography prepared in collaboration with Valentine Crivellato). Cf. below notes 10 and 19. The painting has been greatly damaged in many ways over the centuries and has been slightly altered in size at least twice. Photographs taken in the 1920's, when the last attempt at cleaning was made, indicate its condition only too well (Amsler and Routhardt photograph No. 5801). My analysis is based on its present appearance and on the large engraving by Nicolas Dupuy in the Crozat Recueil, the best of the earlier reproductions.

pours or dips from a stone cistern with her glass pitcher; the other, her back to us and holding a wooden flute near her lips, is seated on the grass at some distance to the right. Although they are not associated with one another by glance or gesture, the two women are sister beings. We may deduce from their prominent size and location, that together they constitute the first and strongest section of the picture.

In the second plane are two young men, casually seated close together on the grass. The youth on the left is stylishly clad from head to foot in colorful fabrics, and holds a large lute. He has paused for a moment in his playing to look with intensity at his companion, who, with a pronounced turn of his head, receives this gaze in thoughtful attention. This second boy, very simply dressed in rough brown clothing, is barefoot and tousle-headed. The two are wholly absorbed in their communion, quite unaware of the handsome creatures so close at hand; together they form, at least momentarily, a separate group.

The rolling landscape behind the figures includes trees, buildings, a goatherd leading his flock, a lake emptying over a waterfall, mountain peaks, and sunset clouds. We can, indeed we must, see this countryside as a single panorama, full of warm afternoon light. Yet within its apparent unity there are several carefully planned oppositions which suggest that the divided landscape, a device common to many paintings of this time, is also found here. The contrast of status so clearly marked in the boys' clothing, recurs in the architectural styles of the two structures behind them: on the right a picturesque brown farmhouse, added at haphazard to an older ruin; on the left a low white residence of symmetrical design, crowned by a pediment, its central opening flanked below by columns or niches.6 Among the natural features of the landscape the division may seem to be less forthright, but on the side of the rustic youth, within the sunlit valley, the goatherd leads his flock in the shade of a thick grove of trees; the trees on the side of the elegant youth are conversely slender and separate, and the view extends beyond the distant lake to the far mountains in full sunlight. When these various contrasts are associated with one another, and with the pair of female figures in the foreground, the picture appears divided in two halves: the left side comprises the water-pouring "muse," the fine young lute-player, the white gabled building by the lake, and the farther landscape; the enclosed landscape on the right side contains the flute-playing "muse," the shepherd boy, the farmhouse, the grove, and the goatherd with his flock.

This scene, which looks to be at once halved and whole, invites explanation. We return to the foreground plane and the "muses," whose meaning is not difficult to see if we compare them with the figure in card C27 of the "Tarocchi" series (Fig. 2). Entitled Poesia, the girl is seated beside a fountain on grass or leaves, using one hand to play a flute while with the other she empties a pitcher into a small body of water at her side. Behind the fountain rises a rocky mountain; behind the girl extends a flat plain. The differences are many between this stiff swathed figure, who seems almost contorted by her incongruous actions, and the two figures in the Fête Champêtre who move with Olympian ease. But there has been no change in what they do, and surprisingly little in how they do it. The meaning of Giorgione's figures must in some way be developed from that of the earlier one. As they seem together to dominate the foreground, so their claim may include the scene behind them as well. If we accept this degree of meaning to be implicit in the scene, we may add, tentatively, to the titles already bestowed on this picture, that of "Allegory of Poetry."

<sup>6.</sup> Such country residences did not actually exist at this time, although identical examples appear in the background of Giorgione's Tempest. Later in the century, not dissimilar structures were built by G. M. Falconetto and Alvise Cornaro: cf. Adolfo Venturi, Storia dell'arte italiana, Milan, 1940, XI, 3, figs. 5, 27. Perhaps this type had already been designed by the group of artists around Caterina Cornaro in Asolo, which included Giorgione.

<sup>7.</sup> Arthur M. Hind, Early Italian Engraving, London, 1938, part 1, vol. 1, pp. 223-228; for illustration see ibid., vol. IV, pl. 346. Two versions of the Tarocchi series (ibid., pls. 320-369) known as "E" and "S" are dated "not after 1467" and "c. 1485," respectively. The place of origin is Ferrara, the artist of the earlier series is identified with the circle of Francesco Cossa.

When we look for other representations of Poetry by personification or allegory before the sixteenth century, examples prove to be rather scarce.8 During the Middle Ages poetry had been recognized to contain an important part of the heritage from antiquity, yet its powers were viewed with an admiration often tempered by caution. Poetry's place among the arts was not specified beyond that of belonging to a subordinate category in the larger subject of Rhetoric. It never had the status necessary to justify a personification like those that stood for the seven Liberal Arts. In the fifteenth century, however, Renaissance humanists held poetry in far higher esteem. One outcome of their attitude may be seen in the exalted location of the most famous personification of poetry in the Renaissance, Raphael's winged Poesia on the ceiling of the Stanza della Segnatura, who is there the companion of Justice, Theology, and Philosophy (Fig. 3). Her majestic figure is fully clothed, and her head is crowned with laurel; she holds an ancient lyre and a large book; she is seated among the clouds on a throne decorated with the head of Homer. The motto "Numine Afflatur," carved on two tablets carried by putti, recalls the concept that it is the breath of divinity that inspires the poet. Poesia here epitomizes a long tradition, literary as well as pictorial, which had been initiated by Plato and affirmed by Virgil and other Roman poets; it persisted throughout the Middle Ages and had recently preoccupied the members of the Florentine Academy of Marsilio Ficino. Like the Tarocchi Poesia of 1465, Raphael's personification shows Poetry with the globe of heaven and earth at her feet, but in the latter case her throne is placed in the heavens among the stars, while in the former the world is reduced to a small sphere unrelated to the surrounding landscape, serving apparently as Poetry's footrest.

Raphael's inspired creature is presumably contemporaneous with the Fête Champêtre, but the paintings do not resemble one another at all; plainly the Fête Champêtre (as it is still convenient to call it) has much more in common with the humbler composition in the Tarocchi series, of North Italian provenance. Giorgione has incorporated many motives from the Tarocchi Poesia, such as the distant mountain and grassy sward of the landscape, and the actions of the personification. Others, especially those suggesting the superior status of Poetry, have been discarded: neither figure wears the wreath of myrtle or laurel which rests on Poesia's head, and the sphere at her feet has disappeared. The connections which unite some of the motives in the Tarocchi card have become weaker in this newly-broadened panorama; the body of water beside Poesia, for example, into which the drops fall from her pitcher, is still present in the lake behind the water-pourer and her cistern, but it is so far away that we can no longer see these motives as one. Yet it should be remarked that the lake remains in "her" side of the painting. The motive of flute-playing, now removed to the other side, has been dissociated from that of water-pouring.

A recent study has been made of this landscape, 10 illuminating the similarity of its pastoral elements with many of the landscape properties in ancient and contemporary pastoral poetry—the Arcadia of Sannazaro, and the poetry of Bembo and Ariosto. We may agree that the painting

Poet's Divine Frenzy"). Cf. also Paul Oskar Kristeller, The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino, tr. Virginia Conant, New York, 1943, pp. 307-309. Vasari (Vite, ed. Gaetano Milanesi, Florence, IV, 1879, p. 333) identifies this figure with "Polinnia," the Muse of Rhetoric; cf. line 7 of the poem "De Musis," thought during the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance to be the work of Virgil: "Signat cuncta manu loquiturque Polymnia gestu" (Alexander Riese, Anthologia Latina, 1, 2, Leipzig, 1906, pp. 134-135, nos. 664 and 664a).

10. Phillip Fehl, "The Hidden Genre: A Study of the

Concert Champêtre in the Louvre," Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, XVI, 2, 1957, pp. 153-168; in note 14, p. 158, the author mentions the connection between the "muses" in the Fête Champêtre and what is presumably the Tarocchi Poesia, acknowledging a suggestion of Professor Julius Held. The Arcadian setting is an innovation in the pastoral poetry of the time as well as in the painting; cf. Thomas Perrin Harrison, Jr., The Pastoral Elegy, Austin, Texas, 1939, p. 10.

<sup>8.</sup> Possibly relevant is the "rota Virgilii," a schematic formulation of the mediaeval division of poetry into three parts, based on the work of Virgil. To the categories of Epic, Georgic, and Bucolic are assigned suitable trees, animals, types of men and landscape. For illustration see Edmond Faral, Les arts poétiques du XIIº et du XIIIº siècles, Paris, 1924, p. 87. For the place of Poetry in the Middle Ages, cf. below note 47. Lorenzo Costa's so-called Triumph of Poetry of 1506 for Isabella d'Este, now in the Louvre, is here noted but not discussed, as its setting and arrangement seem to belong to a quasi-dramatic type different from these personifications and allegories. Many true or borderline allegories undoubtedly exist in this period, but until they have been more thoroughly studied, it is difficult to include them: cf. Bernardo Parentino, Musicians, Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum.

<sup>9.</sup> Information summarized in Ernst Robert Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages (Bollingen Series, XXXVI), New York, 1953, pp. 474-475 (Excursus VIII: "The

does reflect these poetical sources and that they help to explain the metamorphosis of the Tarocchi card into the Fête Champêtre. But the "pastoral" tradition does not contribute the device which is also important for the meaning of the painting, that of coordinating the contrasts of architecture and costume with the fundamental division of the landscape left and right. All these contrasts are strengthened by implications of "higher" and "lower" status, and further substantiated by the postures which have been newly devised for the "muses"—for though the two figures continue to gesture in the manner of their Tarocchi prototype, their standing and seated poses now add to the painting their respective correspondence with a tradition, accepted for centuries, of illustrating in this way the moral values of "high" and "low."

Meaning of this sort is not at all characteristic of pastoral poetry, and must reflect some other source. For a possible explanation we may turn to a major treatise on poetical theory rediscovered in the Renaissance, the Poetics of Aristotle. The history of the treatise in this period is exactly concurrent with these works of art. During the Middle Ages the Poetics was hardly known, and rarely mentioned among Aristotle's other writings. Only a Latin abridgment of earlier Hebrew and Arabic translations had survived from antiquity, and on this text no commentaries appear to have been made. The manuscripts of the treatise in Greek which were brought to Italy during the late fifteenth century were greatly prized by Italian humanists—the earliest manuscript text in the Laurentian Library, for example, was first owned by Politian. In Venice, too, there must have been at least one other Greek text, for in 1498 it was translated into Latin by Giorgio Valla.12 The editio princeps of Aristotle's Opera, undertaken in 1495-1498 by the Aldine Press, did not yet contain the Poetics; it first appeared in the Rhetores Graeci, a two-volume compilation of a number of treatises published by the same house in 1508.13 Although we now associate the importance of the *Poetics* in this period primarily with the development of drama, its overwhelming influence became possible only decades later, after the commentaries and translations had been made which permitted its dicta to be interpreted for the theory of tragedy.14 We may note that of the twenty-six books comprising the Poetics, twenty-one are given to tragedy, epic poetry and related subjects; there is no evidence that it ever contained a comparably thorough discussion of comedy.

Especially relevant to the meaning of the Fête Champêtre appear to be the first five books of the treatise, which constitute an introduction to poetry. Early readers of the Poetics were surely impressed by its opening remarks and definitions. These begin by dividing poetry, on the basis of "principles," into two kinds, tragic (including epic) and comic (including dithyrambic), which are represented by the lyre and the aulos respectively. To these types belong men of higher and lower degree, who act according to their status. There follows an account of the origin of Poetry, springing from man's instinct for imitation and his natural gifts of harmony and rhythm, which leads to such passages as this:

<sup>11.</sup> Erwin Panofsky, Hercules am Scheidewege (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, XVIII), Leipzig-Berlin, 1930, p. 115.

<sup>12.</sup> Information summarized from Ingram Bywater, Aristotle on the Art of Poetry, Oxford, 1909, pp. xxiv-xxv, and John Edwin Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship, 3rd ed., Cambridge, 1921, 1, pp. 569 and 588.

<sup>13.</sup> Antoine Auguste Renouard, Annales de Vimprimerie des Alde, Paris, 1834, I, p. 54. The reader will remember that Padua had long been the primary Italian center for the study and scholarship of Aristotle.

<sup>14.</sup> Joel Elias Spingarn, A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance, New York, 1899, pp. 28-35.

of course, entirely familiar with tragedy, comedy, and satire in their dramatic form and to some degree in a pictorial application (cf. Richard Krautheimer, "The Tragic and Comic Scene of the Renaissance," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, ser. 6, XXXIII, 1948, pp. 327-346). The novelty of this introduction consists in distinguishing these terms so broadly, as a basis for poetry in general.

<sup>16.</sup> Bk. IV, tr. S. H. Butcher. Does the flock of goats on the right of the Fête Champêtre refer to "satires," or derive from the pastoral imagery of antique ecloques?

The higher and lower kinds of poetry distinguished by Aristotle throughout the opening section are as analogous to the features that have been devised for the Fête Champêtre as they are different from the Platonic definition of poetry embodied in Raphael's "divinely-inspired" Poesia. We may also remember that although the setting of the picture corresponds to the pastoral world, it is precisely in Arcadia that such distinctions as these characteristically do not occur. The added buildings help to articulate the "individual character" of the divisions formed by the natural features of the landscape. The contrast between the boys is more than purely social, based on their costumes, for it comes out in a fuller way: the lute-player seems deeply eager to convey by look, word or music, something of his "higher" art to his receptive but untutored companion, whose accompanying "muse" seems either to listen, or perhaps to have been silenced. The lute has itself been added to the scene, and the two instruments are now used in the classical relationship specified by Aristotle, a contrast which will be discussed at greater length below. Even the trees may contribute to this interpretation, the ilex grove on the right reminding us of pastoral eclogues, and what is probably the laurel on the left connoting its Apollonian superiority.

From the variety of sources we have adduced for this investigation, we see that the picture must contain a complex offering of current and traditional thoughts on poetry. A new conception of landscape has been adopted, the Arcadian vision, which completely envelops the setting and tone of the painting. If the scene is divisible into halves according to fifteenth century precedent, its two parts are to be interpreted in an Aristotelian manner which is very modern. The exposition of the poetic genres of "high" and "low" modulates from the direct characterization of the boys to the formal differentiation of the "muses." Ancient and modern elements have been newly collated: contemporary styles provide the contrasts of architecture and costume, is just as the handsome lute and simpler wooden flute or recorder are modern counterparts of the ancient lyre and aulos; the fountain in the Tarocchi card, however, has been transformed into a cistern of weathered antiquity, and the "muses" have exchanged the garments of the Tarocchi Poesia for a semi-nudity now more appropriate to the simplicity of their ideal nature. This fabric of meaning, like the composition of the picture, may be described as a schematic division into halves interwoven by three principal strata; but in all respects the sections seem easily to merge, through gently diagonal relationships, with the neighboring areas.

## II

We may now return to the Tarocchi *Poesia*, which belongs to an elaborate game of cards probably devised about 1460 for a group of specially informed participants.<sup>20</sup> The meaning of this card, though formulated well before Aristotle's treatise on poetry became available, may nevertheless continue to affect the presentation of Poetry in the *Fête Champêtre*. Considering first its

17. The constant and variable factors in the iconography of the Muses have yet to be worked out for the different periods in which they have been frequently represented. She who sits on the ground, however, is at this time invariably Thalia. Cf. Jean Seznec, The Survival of the Pagan Gods (Bollingen Series, XXXVIII), New York, 1953, p. 141 nn. 46 and 47. As there is also a tradition identifying Thalia with the Muse of Comedy ("Comica lascivo gaudet sermone Thalia," in Riese, loc.cit.), it is tempting to see her presence at least suggested by the flute-playing "muse" in the Fête Champêtre. Thalia, however, does not customarily play the flute, but one of the simpler stringed instruments, such as the rebec which she holds in the Tarocchi example.

18. My particular thanks to Mr. E. J. Alexander, Associate Curator of the New York Botanical Gardens, who identifies the ilex with certainty. The "laurel" is more problematic; it does not completely resemble the laurel, nor does it immediately suggest any other tree except, and only possibly, the

black poplar. According to the evidence of Renaissance paintings, however, these may be considered laurels. Cf. Vasari's description of Raphael's Parnassus: "... una selva ombrosissima di lauri, ne' quali si conosce per la loro verdezza quasi il tremolare delle foglie per l'aure dolcissime..." (op.cit., p. 334). Raphael's stiff, tall trees also have little resemblance to the laurel growing in nature. For comparison see Andrea Alciati, Emblemata, where in editions published in Venice, 1546, and subsequently, appears a series of trees, the laurel usually numbered CCX; cf. also the paintings of Girolamo dai Libri, which usually contain a laurel tree. A distinguishing feature of the tree according to these representations is its tendency to produce lower shoots, which are often trimmed from the well-tended tree; these occur in the trees behind the cistern.

19. Edgar Wind discusses the "philosophy of clothes" in Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance, New Haven, 1958, p. 123n. 20. Seznec, op.cit., pp. 137-139.

location in the Tarocchi deck, it belongs to the third of five ten-card suits, this one numbered C21 to C30 and presenting ten personifications of learning: the seven Liberal Arts, with Poetry, Philosophy, and Theology making up the necessary number. Poesia (C27) is placed after "Musicha" (C26), followed by Philosophia (C28), Astrologia, and Theologia (Figs. 2 and 4). The succession of the quadrivium, traditionally the "numerical" arts, has been interrupted presumably to signify a special connection between music and poetry; both personifications also play flutes, an activity which is most exceptional for Music, whose proper attribute is an organ or stringed instrument. (Whether flute-playing is equally remarkable for Poetry will be discussed below.) For Poetry's personification, and indeed for most of those in the Arts and in the preceding suit of the Muses, one literary prototype is to be found in the "Armoriale" appended to a Traité de blazon, a fifteenth century French manuscript now in the Bibliothèque Mazarine, containing categories of symbols for different heraldic purposes. Following an enumeration of insignia for various geographical, ecclesiastical, and political entities in France, the Muses are briefly listed with the same attributes as those in the corresponding Tarocchi suit. The "vij arts," approximately like the Tarocchi Arts, are then described; the eighth and final paragraph, untitled, is here quoted:

Une jeune dame les cheveux pendens, ung chappelet de fleurs par dessus, touchant de la main dextre ung flaiol; de l'aultre main espenchant à ung pot de terre de l'eau qui sourdoit d'une fontaine, et en ses pieds le firmament—porte d'asur, le firmament d'argent.<sup>28</sup>

This girl may certainly be identified as "Poesia" from her similarity to the Tarocchi example, though the Armoriale gives her no name.

The Muses, whose lower-valued suit of ten cards consists of themselves and Apollo, offer several points of comparison with *Poesia*. In the first card (DII) Calliope presides over a fountain very similar to Poetry's, which here stands for the Castalian font, the due setting for the first and principal Muse.<sup>24</sup> Each card contains, moreover, a sphere, Apollo's (D20) divided into heaven and earth like that of Poetry, and correspondingly placed at his feet. Spheres occur on certain other Tarocchi cards throughout the deck, and are thought to confer to them some special value in the game itself.<sup>25</sup> But whatever recondite meaning they may have, the presence here of the "firmament" surely conveys the traditional idea of the power of Poetry over the world; the fountain likewise perpetuates the familiar association of Poetry with the Castalian waters and the gifts of the Muses.<sup>26</sup>

### III

Although most of the Muses hold some kind of musical instrument, none plays the single flute which we see in the hands of Poesia, Musica and, in the fifth and highest suit of the Olympic gods, Mercury (A42). A brief explanation of this instrument must here follow.<sup>27</sup> It is most un-

21. This connection, of classical origin, is suggested in many later sources, reflecting several reasons and points of view. Cf. especially Boethius, De institutione musica, bk. I, ch. xxxiv; St. Augustine, De ordine, bk. II, ch. xiv.

22. Ms fr. 3711, fols. 28 and 29. Hind, op.cit., I, p. 223; Romain Merlin, Origines des cartes à jouer, Paris, 1869, pp. 48-49; Auguste Molinier, Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, 1885-1892, III, p. 165; first published by L. Donet-d'Arcq, "Un traité du blazon du XVe siècle," Revue archéologique, xve année, I, 1858, pp. 257-274, 321-342. The date of the manuscript has not been ascertained, and the internal evidence has been differently interpreted by the authors cited above. It is thought to be either ca. 1420 (Hind, Merlin, and Donet-d'Arcq) or after 1467 (Molinier). The treatise proper was often copied (nine manuscripts are known) and later published; the Armoriale, however, appears to be unique with this cited copy. If we cannot connect the Armoriale directly with the Tarocchi engravings, we must postulate a relationship of some sort or suspect the existence of a similar, earlier list.

23. Donet-d'Arcq, op.cit., p. 342. Herewith also the description of Music, for comparison and later discussion (cf. below, note 49): "Musica, vie. Une jeune dame en cheveux, bien adornée, d'une fine chemise vestue, les bras tous nudz, assise sur ung signe, les jambes entrellées et nudz piedz, une orgues, ung lehut et plusieurs aultres instrumens emprès elle, ung flaiol—porte de synople, deux flaiolz d'argent."

24. Hesiod, Theogony, bk. 1, l. 79. Following this tribute, the supremacy of Calliope is frequently acknowledged, especially during the Renaissance. Her position is not unexceptional, however, and in the Middle Ages first place is often given to Clio in accordance with the poem "De Musis" cited above (note 9). Urania is also specified occasionally.

25. Seznec, op.cit., p. 140n; further references are cited therein.

26. As in note 21 above, the list could be long indeed. For a comparatively close source, cf. Boccaccio, Genealogia deorum gentilium, bk. XIV, ch. iv.

27. The terminology used in antiquity for wind instruments is difficult to reconcile with that of modern instruments. common to find the flute in a company so elevated as the Liberal Arts. Plato's writings had made clear for all time that the flute stood for Dionysiac sensuousness, in contrast to the temperate values symbolized by the lyre or cithara of Apollo.28 This distinction, which has an unbroken history in pagan and Christian thought,29 is sometimes mitigated by other traditions originating also in the antique era. The connotation of the flute, usually pejorative, is at times unexceptional, or merely suggestive of its secondary position compared with stringed instruments.

One such tradition, coming at once to mind from numerous examples in pastoral poetry and painting, is that of the shepherd in the fields, playing a pipe made of hollow reeds or shoots for his own pleasure, or to call his flocks. This image may be found in secular pastoral scenes throughout the centuries, passing also into Christian iconography with the shepherds at the Nativity.<sup>30</sup>

Another tradition, connected with the god Hermes and thus of mythological origin, emphasizes the musical sounds made within the flute by the breath of the player, and the powerful effects of its music over its hearers. Individual representations of the god during antiquity, whether in sculpture or painting, do not show him with the flute as one of his attributes. But the flute, according to one source, was Hermes' invention; during Roman times it became part of the nexus of meanings ascribed to the god which include his role as Psychopompus, his powers of eloquence, his traditional association with air and wind, and his patronage of shepherds. Some aspects of this combination of talents determine one form of the legend of Argus, wherein Hermes, disguised as a shepherd, uses his eloquence and the music of his flute to close the hundred eyes of Argus in sleep before decapitating the guardian of Io. This episode was particularly popular in the first century A.D.; it is retold by Ovid and Valerius Flaccus, and appears in at least three Pompeian wall-paintings. It was presumably to be found also in whatever illustrated codices of these poems existed in antiquity.

The Greeks had no flute of our sort, but the aulos, a double oboe. Closer in organic principle to our flute, but more remote in appearance, is the syrinx, or pan-pipes, which, however, was not recognized as a performance instrument. The aulos in single form existed in late Greek times, but is rarely represented (Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae, bk. IV, 175-182). The Roman equivalent of the aulos is the tibia; calamus refers to pan-pipes, or a reed instrument; concerning the use of the term fistula, cf. below, notes 31 and 43.

28. Plato, esp. Republic, bk. III, 199; Aristotle, much milder than Plato on this subject, nevertheless concurs (Politics, bk. VI) that the flute is too exciting for general educational use, that its function is the relief of passions. Cf. also the familiar myths of Athena and Marsyas, the contest between Apollo and Marsyas, and the related episode of Pan and Midas. All of these legends were especially popular in Venetian and North Italian painting of the late 15th and early 16th centuries; they also occur in Central Italian painting (N.B. again the ceiling of the Stanza della Segnatura). This subject has been clarified in a recent study by Emanuel Winternitz, "The Curse of Pallas Athena," Studies in the History of Art Dedicated to William E. Suida. New York, 1959, pp. 186-195.

E. Suida, New York, 1959, pp. 186-195.

29. Transferred in the Christian era to David with his harp or psaltery. The iconography of Orpheus enters also, but need not be discussed here. A most explicit example from the 13th century is to be found in Richard Stettiner, Die illustrierten Prudentiushandschriften, II, Berlin, 1905, p. 21 and pl. 200, fig. 18: the Disticha Catonis (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 15158, fol. 13b) contains a drawing of Phronesis with Veritas on one side, Falsitas on the other. Among other distinguishing features, Veritas plays a harp, Falsitas a mediaeval pan-pipes.

30. Even Plato (loc.cit) admits that the "shepherd may have a pipe in the country," using the term syrinx. For Christian iconography, cf. Emmanuel Winternitz, "Bagpipes for the Lord," Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, XVI, 1958, pp. 276-286. Another kind of evidence is noted by Evelyn Reuter, Les représentations de la musique dans la sculpture

romane en France, Paris, 1938, pp. 22-23, 60-61.

31. The aulos was the invention or discovery of Athena, and is always so described. Hermes, however, is the inventor of the syrinx, according to the tradition established in the Homeric Hymn "To Hermes" (IV, Il. 510-512). He is also therein described as the inventor of the lyre (IV, Il. 40-61), which he traded to Apollo in exchange for the gift of divination. This episode is more colorful and better known than that of the syrinx, which reappears only occasionally (to wit, Aeschylus, Prometheus, 1. 574; Sophocles, Inachus, fragment b; most fully in Apollodorus, Bibliotheke, bk. III, ch. x, 2); otherwise, the invention of the syrinx is normally accredited to Pan (cf. Ovid, Metamorphoses, bk. 1). It is interesting that the Homeric Hymns were translated and published by Politian in 1488 (cf. Kathi Meyer-Baer, "Musical Iconography in Raphael's Parnassus," Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, VIII, 1949, p. 94), and the relation between Mercury and the invention of the "flute" thus reaffirmed in the early Renaissance. For 16th century usage, see note 54 below.

32. Cf. Meyer-Baer, op.cit., p. 95, for a discussion of Mercury and wind instruments, and the still unexplained symbolism of wind instruments in late antiquity. Also cf. W. H. Roscher, Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, Leipzig, 1886-1890, 1, 2, cols. 2372-6; Fritz Cumont, Récherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains, Paris, 1942, pp. 18-20, 112.

Paris, 1942, pp. 18-20, 112.

33. Ovid, Metamorphoses, bk. I, ll. 667-687; also, of course, in the Ovide moralisé from the early 14th century on. Valerius Flaccus, Argonautica, IV, ll. 384-390. For the paintings, see Wolfgang Helbig, Wandgemälde der von Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens, Leipzig, 1868, pp. 39f., nos. 135, 136, 137. Cf. also Cicero, De natura deorum, III, xxii, the five Mercuries, especially the fifth, "The Argus-killer" (wherein, however, the flute is not mentioned).

34. Jean Adhémar, Influences antiques dans Part du moyenâge français (Studies of the Warburg Institute, VII), London, 1939, pp. 200-201.

Another, more utilitarian connection between the flute and the art of eloquence occurs in Roman treatises on Rhetoric. The use of a flute in the form of a pitch pipe, or a piper, is recommended to aid the orator in maintaining a certain vocal level for his delivery. Both Cicero and Quintilian cite the example of Caius Gracchus, "cum eburneola solitus est habere fistula qui staret occulta post ipsum."35 This manner of using the flute has nothing to do with the other traditions discussed above, but its presence in treatises of such lasting importance must have strengthened the association of the instrument with the vocal arts in later periods.

When we inspect Biblical literature, we find that although the Old Testament abounds with lists of musical instruments, the flute is rarely included among them; 36 it is entirely absent from the New Testament. In Early Christian writings, if it is mentioned at all its significance is generally derogatory. One favorable meaning, however, grows in seeming contradiction from a famous assertion of St. Paul which was much amplified by his commentators: St. Paul stated that prayer is most holy as it originates in the soul of the worshiper, and best remains either unheard or expressed by the unaided voice. 87 Although the early Fathers were unanimous in discouraging the use of instruments in religious worship, they nevertheless likened the worshiper, an instrument of God's will, to a musical instrument in the hands of the Musician. 38 An elaborate iconography for many instruments accumulates in musical-religious literature from this transcendent image; the flute, by virtue of interposing the least inert matter between the breath or spirit of the musician-creator and the music he creates, is occasionally numbered among the holiest.30

The classical distinction between wind and stringed instruments, hallowed by its Platonic and Pythagorean associations, lingers throughout the Middle Ages as a dominant theme in the philosophical works which include musical theory. But in the treatises that were more directly concerned with music we find a different attitude towards these instruments, precisely because the period was so exclusively preoccupied with musical numerology. Proportions, in which the allimportant musical relationships were expressed, supplanted any material factors of music-making as a focus of interest. In consequence, the classical evaluation of instruments lost some importance, and was often ignored. Pipes of certain lengths could illustrate proportion fully as well as strings.<sup>40</sup> The organ, with its graduated series of pipes, which was early admitted as an instrument for church performance, eased by analogy the acceptance of other wind instruments as well.

In his treatise De musica, Boethius had relegated musical performance to three categories in the lowest form of music, "musica instrumentalis." These categories, slightly rearranged, took on the order of voice, wind and percussion. 41 The status of all instruments was thus reorganized

35. Cicero, De oratore, III, lx, 225; Quintilian, De institutione oratoriae, 1, X, 27.

36. Daniel 3:5-7.

37. In the Bible, Eph. 5:18-19; Col. 3:16; I Cor. 14:7-8. Subsequently, St. John Chrysostom, Exposition of Psalm XLI (Migne, Patr. grec., Lv, col. 155), and St. Jerome, Commentary on Ephesians (Migne, Patr. lat., XXVI, col. 562)

38. Hermann Abert, Die Musikanschauung des Mittelalters und ihre Grundlagen, Halle, 1905, pp. 213-217, where this image is traced to Plato, Phaedo, 86.

39. Clement of Alexandria, Exhortation to the Greeks, ch.

1 (tr. G. W. Butterworth, London, 1919, p. 13).
40. Scholia enchiriadis (10th century): "... for music is fashioned wholly in the likeness of numbers. Indeed, if you make one string or pipe twice as long as another of equal thickness, they will together sound the diapason. . . . Whatever is delightful in song is brought about through the proportioned dimensions of sounds; whatever is excellent in rhythms, or in songs, or in any rhythmic movements you will, is effected wholly by number. Sounds pass quickly away, but numbers, which are obscured by the corporeal element in sounds and movements, remain. . . . " From Source Readings in Music History, selected, annotated, and in this case translated, by Oliver Strunk, New York, 1950, p. 137.

41. The categories comprising music, as listed in Boethius, De musica, bk. 1, ch. ii, are:

1. Musica mundana (celestial harmony)

2. Musica humana (audible music) 3. Musica instrumentalis (performed music)

a. Stringed instruments

b. Wind instruments

c. Percussion instruments

The latter three categories, following a modification which apparently stems from St. Augustine (Enarratio in Psalmum CL: Migne, Patr. lat., xxxvII, col. 1965), invariably appear in a slightly different form throughout the Middle Ages:

a. harmonica (voice)

b. organica (wind instruments)

c. rhythmica (percussion and stringed instruments) Cf. the identical passages in, for example, Isidore of Seville, Etymologia, bk. 111, ch. xix, 1, and Rabanus Maurus, De universo, bk. xvIII, ch. iv: "... At omnem autem sonum, qui materies cantilenarum est, triformem constat esse natura. Prima est harmonica, quae ex vocum cantibus constat: secunda orfor the mediaeval scholar according to a point of view quite different from that of the classical world. The pastoral, mythological, and oratorical interpretations which better the reputation of the flute may occur only sporadically in antiquity, but they proved more than sufficient, considering the relatively low position of all instruments, and the spiritual connotation of the breath and the voice, to justify some acceptance of the instrument during the Middle Ages, Plato notwithstanding. Isidore of Seville defines the flute in a matter-of-fact manner as the invention of Hermes or Pan, and states: "Fistula autem dicta, quod vocem emittat. Nam Graece Phos vox, stola missa appellatur." The traditions noted above, when amalgamated by subsequent compilers of classical sources in the Middle Ages, often permit literary and figural representations of Mercury holding a flute or flute-like instrument—sometimes, when he appears as the Argus-slayer, his only attribute. By definition or by implication, the flute is also associated with eloquence as a concept. While there is more to be known of the subject, mythographers, by the fourteenth century, prescribe the flute as a matter of course to symbolize the eloquence of Mercury, and state with more conviction than Isidore that "eloquentia autem in fistula designatur."

From even this brief outline of the significance of the flute, it is clear that the instrument carried an increasingly close association with eloquence as a gift or an art. The study of Eloquence during the Middle Ages ranked as one of the principal subdivisions of Rhetoric, which belonged to the trivium. By the end of the period, the definition of eloquence had broadened to include the use of the term as a synonym for poetry, showing that both arts were believed to exert the persuasive powers of an ornamental literary style. When with this in mind we review the Tarocchi Poesia and the remarkable features it combines, the flute is evidently used to endow the inspiring waters of Castaly with the articulate voice of Poetry or Eloquence. Poesia, the sphere of the world at her

ganica, quae ex flatu consistit: tertia rhythmica, quae pulsu digitorum numeros recipit. . . ."

42. Etymologia, bk. 111, ch. xxi (Migne, Patr. lat., LXXXII, cols. 166-167). This definition still persists in Vincent of Beauvais, Speculum doctrinale, bk. XVII, ch. XXXIII.

43. Seznec, op.cit., figs. 34, 67, 70, 82, 83. Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl, "Classical Mythology in Medieval Art," Metropolitan Museum Studies, IV, 1932-1933, figs. 30, 40, 42, 43 (and 47, by Raphael). M. D. Henkel, De Houtsneden van Mansion's "Ovide Moralisé," Amsterdam, 1922, fig. XXII (and cf. Pan, fig. XXVIII, with identical flute). Paul Schubring, Cassoni, Leipzig, 1915, I, p. 311, no. 388; II, pl. XCI.

44. Curtius, op.cit., p. 77, discusses the symbolism of Martianus Capella's De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii, as Wisdom joined with Eloquence. Cf. the Metalogicus of John of Salisbury, bk. IV, ch. xxix; in the same author's Polycraticus, bk. I, ch. vi, the power of Mercury's flute over Argus is specifically moralized. Rabanus Maurus, discussing musical instruments in De universo, loc.cit.: "... Bumbulum itaque cum fistulis, id est, doctor in medio Ecclesiae est cum Spiritu sancto . . . : in catena, id est, in fide, et non se jungit terrae, id est, operibus carnalibus. Duodecim Apostoli cum fistulis, id est, cum divinis eloquiis. . . ." (For assistance in identifying the "bumbulum" or "bunibulum" as a kind of wind instrument I am indebted to Elizabeth Cock of Vassar College; cf. V. Leroquais, Manuscrits latins des bibliothèques de France: Les Psautiers, Macon, 1940-1941, I, pp. 24 and 99; II, pl. xvi.) Alexander Neckham (ed. Thomas Wright, Rerum brittanicarum mediiaevi scriptores, XXXIV, London, 1863, pp. 90-91), De naturis rerum, bk. 1, XXXIX, "De pavoni"; Servius, Commentary on Virgil's "Aeneid," VII, 790 (Thilo and Hagen, Serviis Grammatici, Leipzig, 1881-1884, II, p. 195). These examples are chosen from scattered sources to illustrate the variety of references which exists; more are undoubtedly waiting to be found.

45. Curt Sachs, The History of Musical Instruments, New York, 1940, pp. 138-143, 287-288, 309-315. "Fistula" in Roman, early Christian and early mediaeval descriptions is best understood; not as "flute" (which in our meaning of the word was not yet a common instrument), but by the more

generic term of "pipe." Like "pipe," "fistula" means a tube of some length, and had as many nonmusical as musical applications. See note 27 above. Flutes as we know them today, in either the transverse or recorder-like form, are of Byzantine origin and appear in recognizable examples first in the 12th century (cf. Hortus deliciarum); they come to have different names in the various European languages, but continue to be termed "fistula" in Latin. From the quotations in the preceding note it is clear that "fistula" throughout the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance meant a pipe, or flute, or oboe of some kind, i.e. a wind instrument of cylindrical rather than flaring shape. It is difficult to be more exact than this in the present state of knowledge.

46. Albricus, Libellus de deorum imaginibus (Basel, 1549 ed., p. 172), "De Mercurio." Boccaccio (Genealogia, bk. 11, ch. vii), itemizes among the gifts of those born under Mercury, "modulationes carminum et fistularum." Petrarch (Afrika, bk. 111), mentions the horn rather than the flute as an attribute of Mercury: "gallus adest vigil, et cornu cadit Argus ab ense." Cf. Aby Warburg, Gesammelte Schriften, 11, Leipzig, 1932, pp. 627-628, for the derivation of Albricus' image from the description in the Ovide moralisé of Mercury and Argus.

47. Curtius, op.cit., p. 145; ch. viii, "Poetry and Rhetoric," has much further material. The outstanding example cited is Dante's treatise on poetry in the Italian language, De vulgare eloquentia; perhaps it is interesting to quote Dante's reservations on the relationship of the two disciplines, typical of many others in this period, as expressed in bk. II, ch. iv: "... recolimus nos eos qui vulgariter versificantur plerunque vocasse poetas; quod procul dubio rationabiliter eructare presumpsimus, quia prorsus poete sunt, si poesim recte consideremus; que nichil aliud est quam fictio rethorica musicaque poeta. Differunt tamen a magnis poetis, hoc est regularibus, quia magni sermone et arte regulari poetari sunt, hii vero casu, ut dictum est. . . ." For a discussion of the background and relation of these arts in the Renaissance, see Donald Lemen Clark, Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance, New York, 1922, chs. V and VII, passim.

feet, acts as the handmaid or agent of Eloquence by sitting on the ground and piping over the waters which she transfers from their divine source to the lakes and rivers of the natural world. This image may have a broader meaning as well;<sup>48</sup> one observation, referring to the Tarocchi series and the theory of poetry, is offered below.<sup>49</sup>

### IV

The flute has proved to be an important factor in explaining the meaning of Poetry as it is personified in the Tarocchi card, but we may still ask how much of the original meaning of the Tarocchi Poesia remains in the numerous motives appropriated by Giorgione for his poetical allegory. Very little, it seems, beyond the identity and actions of the personification, now much expanded, and the division of the accompanying landscape, now masked in the radiance of the new pastoral scene based on Venetian Renaissance poetry. Poesia as the personification of academic eloquence has twinned, and her actions, though simultaneous, no longer depend so closely upon one another. In comparison with the boys' activity her roles appear to be the more passive. 50 An alliance between poetry and music seems to have supplanted that of poetry and eloquence, and the boys respond visibly to the sound of this new art. Poetry's appearance corresponds to an ethical formula sanctioned by the ancient world, whose Aristotelian distinctions have been freshly modified to express more than an objective characterization of the nature and effects of the art. Although the superiority of the "higher" poetry to the "lower" is appreciable throughout the picture, each type is shown to have its inherent beauty. The distinction between "high" and "low" is neither invidious nor necessarily lasting, so plain is the effort of the "higher" poet to communicate the powers of his art, and of the "lower" poet to comprehend them. 51 Rather than Poetry dominating the world through divine inspiration, this alternative definition, which is equally replete with classical features, concerns the boys' experience of poetry in the presence both of its personifications and the fullness of Nature; the art has begun to affect, and perhaps to edify its hearers directly.

The water-pourer has taken her place, albeit disinterestedly, near the player of the lute; the flutist has reverted to her subordinate role and could also be, though this is not the case, the companion of an Arcadian shepherd. United by neither a fête nor a concert, nor accidentally meeting in a pastoral scene, the four people nevertheless join in a relationship which seems indeed to accord like the reverberations of their momentarily stilled instruments. This "hidden genre" will always be one of the charming effects of the picture, but the "hidden allegory" comprehends more of its meaning. The "muses" belong to one world, the boys to another; the world of Poetry includes them all.

The form of this allegory has already been recognized as an innovation, contributing to an important type in the repertory of Venetian painting.<sup>52</sup> Comparable scenes and arrangements in later paintings from this milieu may prove to have qualities in common with those we find here. But the elaborate configuration of Poetry in the Fête Champêtre suggests that some unusual

48. Perhaps, in the light of the Christian interpretation of the flute noted above, related to Genesis 1:2. Edgar Wind, in "Dürer's Männerbad: A Dionysian Mystery," Journal of the Warburg Institute, 11, 3, 1939, p. 271, presents other evidence of this parallel.

49. Eustache Deschamps, "Art du Dictier," 1392 (published in Œuvres complètes, ed. Gaston Raymond, Paris, 1891, VII, pp. 266-292); in this treatise music and poetry are conjoined as "musique artificiele" (music) and "musique naturele" (poetry). As the eloquent powers of both arts are undoubtedly symbolized by their unwonted flute-playing in the Tarocchi personifications, perhaps this remarkable definition also accounts for the "artificiality" of the throne on which Music is seated with her swan, in contrast to the "natural" landscape of Poetry. The numerous instruments around Music are dis-

played in the usual manner for this period, like the tools of her craft, available to anyone wishing to learn their use, whereas the "instruments" of Poetry contribute purely to inspiration, her music being "naturele pour ce qu'elle ne puetestre aprinse a nul, se son propre couraige naturelment ne s'i applique." Cf. Warner Forrest Patterson, Three Centuries of French Poetic Theory, Ann Arbor, 1935, I, pp. 81-95, for antecedent examples of this sort.

50. Justi, op.cit., I, p. 224. The instruments themselves seem to have become more "active" agents.

51. Clark, op.cit., p. 103.

52. Otto J. Brendel, "The Interpretation of the Holkham Venus," ART BULLETIN, XXVIII, 1946, pp. 65-75. Cf. Rensselaer W. Lee, "Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting," ART BULLETIN, XXII, 1940, passim, esp. pp. 197-210.

interest in poetical theory, probably that of the commissioner of the painting, must have dictated its contents, which very likely includes more than the allegory of poetry outlined above. This particular manner of personifying the art seems to be unique, and we may still guess at the circumstances which kept it so. Perhaps Aristotle's preliminary distinctions of the poetic genres, as they are here represented, were overlooked or superseded by the later, more specifically dramatic applications of the treatise. Most of the personifications of Poetry in Ripa's *Iconologia* depend on the Platonic tradition, and there is no mention of this Venetian type. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, we may conclude that by the seventeenth century it had ceased to exist.

But among the drawings by Amico Aspertini of several Tarocchi figures, made for a series of mural paintings, the Tarocchi *Poesia* is to be found once more.<sup>53</sup> She has been changed in one important respect, for she now uses both hands to play her flute. Through intent or misunderstanding, she is no longer able to transfer the waters of Castaly to mankind, and the original meaning of the image has been disrupted or forgotten.

A final word about the occurrence of the flute, which remains as always in the hands of shepherds, and wins besides an unchallenged place in the paintings of musical ensembles that become so popular in the sixteenth century. Renaissance archaeological knowledge causes it to be removed from Mercury's possession, however, except in occasional illustrations of the slaying of Argus, and even there it is often replaced, most correctly, by the syrinx.<sup>54</sup> Eloquence may be personified by a figure carrying a caduceus, a lyre, a parrot or other attributes, but she too has ceded her flute to the revived classical prejudice. Resuming its earlier status, the flute continues to be the instrument of Marsyas. It reappears in dubious company, by way of the hieroglyphists, as a principal attribute of the personification of Adulation; the deceptive sweetness of her words lures men like the flute which has attracted and bemused the deer at her feet, "che è timido, e d'anima debole, chi volontieri porge gli orecchi à gl'adulatori." The flute is also here likened to bees, whose bodies, according to an old tradition, contain both poison and honey.<sup>56</sup>

### NEW YORK CITY

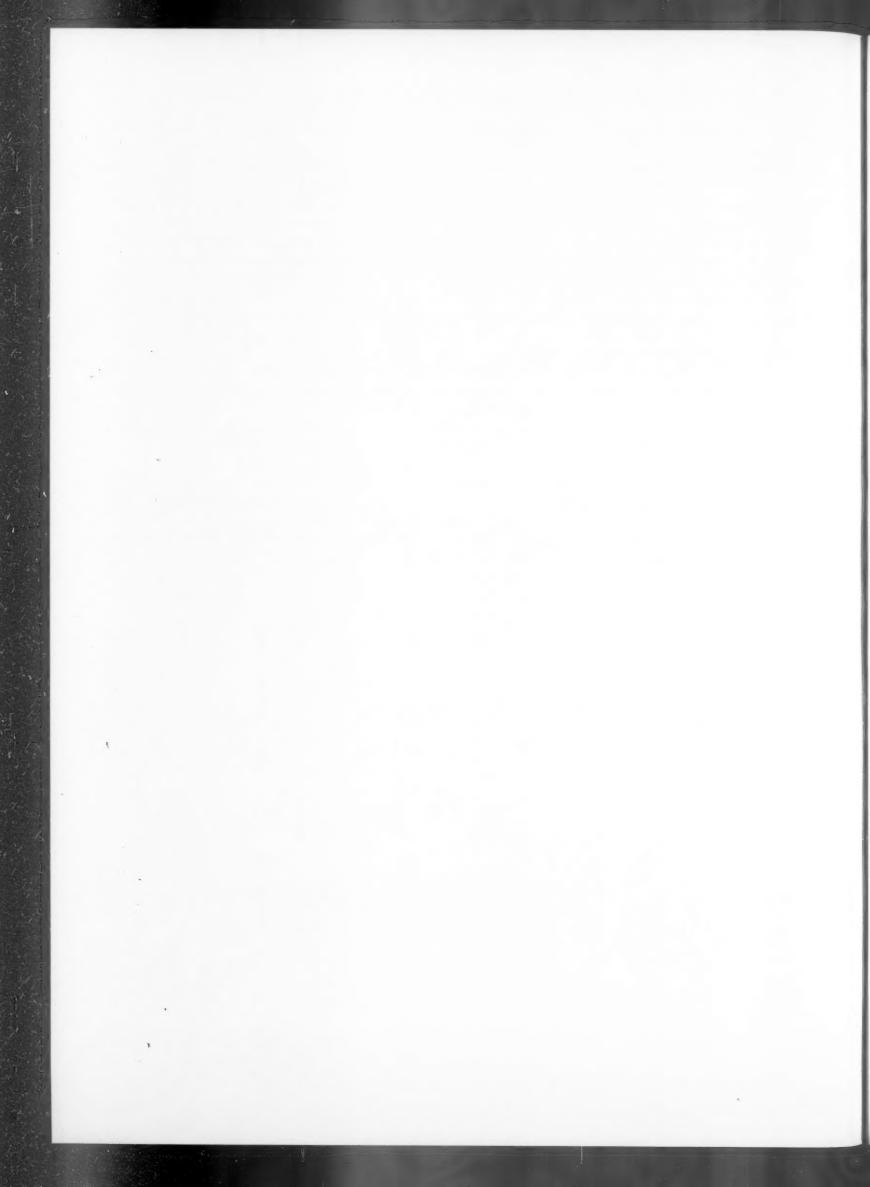
<sup>53.</sup> Phyllis Pray Bober, *Drawings After the Antique by Amico Aspertini* (Studies of the Warburg Institute, XXI), London, 1957, pp. 10, 79, and fig. 112. The sketchbook containing the drawing is dated ca. 1540.

<sup>54.</sup> M. D. Henkel, "Illustrierte Ausgaben von Ovid's Metamorphosen in XV., XVI., und XVII. Jahrhunderts" (Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg, VI), Berlin, 1926-1927, pp. 83, 108-109; but cf. also Warburg, op.cit., II, p. 457, for a notation

of the Albricus image disseminated through Germany during the 16th century from the woodcut of Hans Burgkmair.

<sup>55.</sup> Cesare Ripa, Iconologia, Padua, 1618, p. 9; Giovanni Pietro Valeriano, Hieroglyphica, Basel, 1575, p. 348°; Horapollo, Hieroglyphics, tr. George Boas (Bollingen Series, XXIII), New York, 1950 (bk. II, no. 91), p. 86.

<sup>56.</sup> Eucherius, Proverbi, xvi, 24 (Migne, Patr. lat., L, col. 751).



# DRAWINGS BY PERINO DEL VAGA FOR THE PALAZZO DORIA, GENOA

## BERNICE DAVIDSON

URING the five years and five months between the death of Leo X and the Sack of Rome, conditions grew increasingly difficult for artists. Commissions became scarce and patrons were not as lavish as they once had been. A series of disasters—the austere administration of Adrian VI, who did not approve of art, an outbreak of the plague, and finally, most devastatingly, the Sack itself-gradually forced even the best artists to abandon Rome for more secure positions in provincial courts. Among the last of the leading artists to leave the city was Perino del Vaga. Perino had been imprisoned during the Sack and had suffered severely. When, through the kindness of Niccolò Viniziano, Perino received an offer of employment from Prince Andrea Doria, he departed for Genoa where he remained for approximately ten years.1

It was in Genoa that Perino reached his maturity as an artist; in his decorations for the Prince's palace—his first large-scale, independent commission—we see emerging the talent that Vasari was to proclaim one of the most universal of his day. Surprisingly little has been published about the Palazzo Doria, although it is one of the best and most complete of surviving palace decorations from the first half of the century. Vasari and the later Genoese guide books provide most of the information we have. A long article on the palace was published by Merli and Belgrano in 1874.2 This study is still useful for its résumé of the early history of the palace and for the author's analysis of the building construction. The section on Perino's decorations offers little new material. Nor does Labò's generally useful booklet on Perino contribute much on the Palazzo Doria. More recently Pamela Askew has published an excellent article on Perino's decorations for three of the palace rooms—the atrio, the Sala del Naufragio, and the Sala dei Giganti.4 In the present article we shall attempt to supplement Miss Askew's work with the publication of some additional drawings for the palace.

In approaching Perino's decorations for the palace through his drawings, Miss Askew followed the only possible course. While unhappily few of Perino's paintings or decorative works have survived, an enormous number of his drawings still exist and are essential to any discussion of his art. Perino was unquestionably one of the finest draftsmen of his day and possibly the most prolific. A flood of drawings issued from his hand ranging in character from hasty "memos," evidently dashed off for skilled assistants, to finished modelli designed for a patron's eyes. Because of their number, because of the rapidity with which many of them were executed, and because of the diversity of the projects they represent, Perino's drawings vary disconcertingly in style.6

1. Vasari (Le Vite, ed. Milanesi, Florence, 1880, V, pp. 611-612) says Perino was persuaded to go to Genoa after the Sack while the Pope was still in Orvieto, i.e. early in 1528.

2. A. Merli and L. T. Belgrano, "Il Palazzo del Principe D'Oria a Fassola in Genova," Atti della Società ligure di storia

patria, X, 1874, pp. 1-118. 3. Mario Labò, Vita di Perino del Vaga, Florence, 1912. 4. Pamela Askew, "Perino del Vaga's Decorations for the Palazzo Doria, Genoa," Burlington Magazine, XCVIII, 1956, pp. 46-53. I shall repeat as little as possible of the material covered in this article and, therefore, will limit my discussion of the atrio to the few new drawings here published. Because I have found no drawings for the Sala del Naufragio, this room will not be discussed at all. Since the palace is not easy to visit and its decorations, apart from a few rooms, are not well known, even to specialists of the period, the secondary purpose of this article, beside the publication of the drawings, is to make available for the first time photographs of most of the Doria ceiling frescoes. I am extremely indebted to Mr. Craig Hugh Smyth for many of these photographs which he took during the winter of 1950. Since that time the condition of the rooms has seriously deteriorated. I should also like to thank Dr. Giuliano Frabetti and Dr. Piero Torriti of Genoa for their kind assistance in procuring photographs and information.

5. Vasari, op.cit., p. 593. "Ne vi corse molto tempo ch'egli divenne, fra quegli che disegnavano in Roma, il più bello e

miglior disegnatore che fusse."

6. The best attempt to define Perino's drawing style can be found in A. E. Popham, "On some Works by Perino del Vaga," Burlington Magazine, LXXXVI, 1945, pp. 59-60.

They are not always easy to recognize and can be found attributed to almost any contemporary from Abbate to Zuccaro. Yet since so few of the paintings and palaces are in existence today, any study of his career must depend to an extraordinary degree on the drawings, which played such an important role in his work. Although the Doria palace still stands, it is fortunate for us that so many of Perino's studies for the decorations have survived. Because of the dearth of documentary material on the palace and because of the appalling condition of the frescoes, the drawings are invaluable in reconstructing Perino's work for Prince Doria.

Andrea Doria was a highly successful professional soldier, a condottiere, who made a career of the navy. From childhood his position regarding his native city varied according to which family controlled Genoa. In 1528, the year Perino arrived, the Prince himself had changed masters. Having quarreled with Francis I, he offered his services to Charles V. With assistance from the Emperor, he then expelled the French from Genoa and entered his native city in triumph. The wisdom of this maneuver, which freed Genoa from the French only to give Spain a firm foothold in Italy, has always been a matter of controversy among historians. To the Genoese the change seems to have been welcome; Doria was proclaimed liberator and pater patriae.

Although he had seldom resided in Genoa for any length of time, Doria had, some years earlier, begun enlarging his palace at Fassola, a site on the outskirts of Genoa. No one is certain how much of the old building the Prince retained and altered. In 1527 a fire may have destroyed part of the existing building. But even had there been no fire, Doria had sufficient reason to initiate a far more ambitious program of reconstruction at the time, for in that year he brought a wife home to Fassola. By 1528, therefore, the Emperor's admiral, leading citizen of Genoa, head of its first princely family, required a far more impressive establishment than he had at first intended. For this undertaking, he required a competent artist, one who could handle the wide assortment of duties then assigned to court artists. With Giulio Romano already employed at Mantua and Peruzzi settled in Siena, Perino could claim to be the most experienced available artist skilled in the Roman style of palace decoration. When Perino arrived early in 1528, the entire piano nobile of the palace, consisting of at least a dozen rooms, remained for him to decorate. He was also expected to design the façades, the gardens and fountains, the Prince's plate, banners, tapestries, and even the prows of his galleys. During the five years following his arrival, Perino completed most of the piano nobile; he never finished work on the façades and gardens.

The chronology of the palace decoration is a most complex and almost futile problem. It seems highly probable, although no documentary evidence has been found to prove it, that most of the rooms were completed by March 28, 1533, when Emperor Charles V, with an enormous suite of retainers, spent twelve days as a guest in the palace. Prince Doria would surely have made every effort to finish the main apartments of his new palace for that occasion, especially since on Charles' previous visit to Genoa, he had not stayed at Fassola because the palace had not been in suitable condition. The sequence of execution of the rooms during the years 1528 to 1533 cannot be deduced from existing evidence with any hope of accuracy. The date 1530 is painted on the atrio vault and carved on a lintel of the loggia, but both inscriptions may be later additions, and, in the case of the loggia, may refer to the completion of the architecture. Vasari asserts—and there is no reason to doubt him—that the first cartoon Perino finished was for the ceiling of the Sala del Naufragio, but he and all later writers describe the other rooms in topographical order. Any attempt to determine through stylistic analysis alone the chronological sequence of the rooms can only arrive at

<sup>7.</sup> Judging from its awkward and asymmetrical arrangement, one would suspect that the ground floor of the palace belonged to an earlier building while the piano nobile seems later, although it may have been reconstructed on the basis of earlier masonry. Obviously in his design for the façade and for the atrio vault, Perino was trying to compensate for certain inalterable structural peculiarities. Parts of the palace be-

yond the central block were added later.

<sup>3.</sup> Not all the early sources refer to this fire. Merli and Belgrano do not even mention it. Probably the damage, if any, was slight.

<sup>9.</sup> E. Petit, Andrea Doria, Paris, 1887, p. 143.

<sup>10.</sup> Petit, op.cit., p. 131.

<sup>11.</sup> Vasari, op.cit., p. 614.

academic conclusions. Knowing that Michelangelo's influence on Perino gradually faded in Genoa and that he eventually developed a style that was almost purely decorative, emptied of all emotional or even dramatic expression, one might arrange the major rooms in a logical order demonstrating a clear stylistic development. In actual fact, of course, the program of work could not have been organized that simply. Once Perino had assembled a shop he must have worked on more than one room at a time, as, indeed, a drawing in the Louvre will suggest.

Finally, the wretched condition of the Palazzo Doria frescoes prohibits all but the most general discussion of Perino's stylistic development and renders absolutely futile any attempt to distinguish the various hands involved. In some of the rooms the amount of original paint surface remaining can be estimated in square inches. Neglect, salt air, train smoke, war, the depredations of tourists and of indifferent servants, the innumerable campaigns of restorers, all have contributed to the deterioration of the frescoes. Fortunately, a conscientious restorer in the 1840's wrote a detailed account of his work and of the condition of the rooms at that time. 22 Although the frescoes have suffered frequent damage during the last century, and have as often been restored, Angelini's report remains an essential guide to any discussion of the stanze.

The first room one enters in the palace is the atrio, called the Sala dei Trionfi.13 Probably the date 1530 painted on the vault represents merely a good guess on the part of Angelini, whose

name and date also appear in the inscription.<sup>14</sup>

Miss Askew has published, with a convincing interpretation of the atrio iconography, several studies for the vault.15 We will, therefore, only mention a few additional drawings. One of Perino's first studies for the lunettes and spandrels of the atrio belongs to the museum in Chantilly (Fig. 1).16 While the architecture indicated in the drawing corresponds to the architecture of the atrio, the painted decoration differs from the ideas set forth in this early sketch. Perino evidently first planned to fill the lunettes with stucco figures, such as those seen in several of the upper rooms. Either figures or, as an alternative, grotesque designs were to fill the spandrels. Since Perino used some of these grotesque motifs almost unchanged in the Perseus room on the floor above, we might infer that the atrio vault was designed before the Perseus room, for Perino seldom repeated his own inventions. None of the gods painted in the atrio spandrels exactly derives from either figure in the Chantilly drawing. But Perino made two more studies of the seated figure before abandoning it or altering it beyond recognition. One study for this figure is in the Louvre, classified as School of Fontainebleau (Fig. 2); 17 the other is in the Uffizi attributed to Federigo Zuccaro (Fig. 3).18 The latter sheet of studies also includes sketches for a group of women and a study for the figure of Saturn which fills the spandrel over the entrance to the atrio.

These studies for the atrio are executed in pen and wash, Perino's favorite drawing medium. Although he was first trained in Florence where chalk was the preferred medium, he seldom reverted to that technique. The rapidity, the decorative linear possibilities of the pen seemed

12. A. Angelini, Una visita artistica delle celebri pitture ad affresco di Perino Buonaccorsi Fiorentino detto del Vaga nel palazzo di S. E. il Sig. Principe D'Oria Pamphili in Genova, Genoa, 1847. Since this document is indeed "rarissimo," as Labo warns, and apparently unfamiliar to most Perino scholars (a copy exists in the University Library, Genoa), I shall refer frequently to its contents.

13. Since the chronology of the palace interior is so uncertain, we will, like Vasari and other earlier guides, discuss the rooms in a generally topographical order with some tentative suggestions regarding their relative dates. Cf. Miss Askew's article for a more complete discussion of the atrio, its iconog-

raphy and preliminary drawings.

14. According to Angelini, two-thirds of the atrio vault had been repainted since the mid-eighteenth century. The heaviest and most unscrupulous restoration took place in 1805 when the entire palace was mercilessly scrubbed and daubed in preparation for a visit from Napoleon. As in most of the rooms, many figures and much of the grotesque work in the atrio had entirely disappeared by 1845. Angelini reconstructed what he could, but since that time, and in spite of subsequent restoration, even his work has deteriorated, especially in the lunettes, many of which have almost vanished (Angelini, op.cit., p. 7). Cf. Labò (op.cit., p. 33ff.) for a more detailed transcription of Angelini's report on the atrio.

15. Askew (op.cit., figs. 25-29) illustrates the atrio vault. 16. No. 71, 130 x 395 mm, pen and wash. This drawing is in bad condition and may have been retouched.

17. No. 8737, 2 15/16" x 4 2/16", pen, black ink and

wash, white heightening on blue paper. Cut into spandrel shape at the bottom. I am most grateful to Madame Jacqueline Bouchot-Saupique for permission to publish the Louvre drawings.

18. No. 907 Santarelli, 23 1/4 x 17 cm, pen and wash. On the verso are studies of four dancing putti and a sketch of the temple at Tivoli.

better suited to his style. Perino acquired his facility in handling ink while working on the Vatican loggie when Raphael and his studio, in designing that project, seemingly discarded red chalk in favor of pen and wash. The Uffizi drawing is looser and lighter in line than the Louvre and Chantilly drawings. The wash is freer and more transparent. The treatment of hair and of the billowing drapery is airy, almost fluffy in effect. Obviously Perino had studied Parmigianino's drawings. The proportions of the figures with their tiny heads and long, curving bodies also reflect his influence.

Another drawing in the Louvre, of two fighting men, may be a study for one of the atrio lunettes (Fig. 4).19 This lunette seemingly depicts the battle of the Horatii and the Curatii, but the condition of the fresco makes it difficult to ascertain the subject. The drawing is vigorously, even roughly executed in pen and is very similar in style to certain pen drawings for the loggia on the floor above. Since the abandoned motif of the seated spandrel figure also resembles certain seated warriors for the loggia, it is possible that these two rooms were nearly contemporaneous.

The stairs leading from the atrio to the loggia were completely repainted by Angelini; the decorations had already been destroyed in 1805.20 Perino's drawings for the stair vault may exist but they would be difficult to identify without architectural clues.

At the top of the stairs one emerges into the Loggia degli Eroi (Fig. 5). Here the Doria family heroes are painted facing the sea and the port which had brought them wealth and power. The enormous figures of the warriors make a startling impression on the visitor as he turns from the stairway to face them. They seem in the first instant vividly real and tangible, and in the next moment so excessively fanciful and artificial that they fade to mere surface decoration. The figures are seated along a dais which recedes illusionistically a few feet behind the surface plane to a painted paneled wall in back of them.<sup>21</sup> One warrior even appears to rest his elbow on the lintel of a real doorway. Yet despite his love of these illusionistic devices, Perino maintains a clear distinction between the painted and real worlds. Not only their size belies the actuality of the warriors, but also the pronouncedly decorative pattern of their movements. In counteraction to the illusionistic elements of the painting, Perino has stressed the integrity of the surface plane through an elaborately self-conscious design of entwined limbs.

The originality of the artist's conception is not diminished by the fact that he drew upon numerous sources for his inspiration. Ultimately the idea of representing seated rulers might be traced back to ancient coins, cameos, and sculptural reliefs.<sup>22</sup> But perhaps, the most direct prototype of the Doria heroes can be found in the basimento of the Stanza dell'Incendio where Giulio Romano had painted, in imitation of bronze, six seated rulers. Perino was also influenced by the popes and allegorical figures of the Sala di Constantino.28

Fused with these recollections of Raphael were memories of the gigantic, tormented prophets of the Sistine Ceiling and the Dukes of the Medici Chapel. Perino's warriors with their restless, twisting postures imitate the form, if not the content, of Michelangelo's colossi. For while the writhing movements of the Sistine prophets express their profound inner agitation, there is no discernible adequate motive for the exaggerated contortions of the Doria warriors.

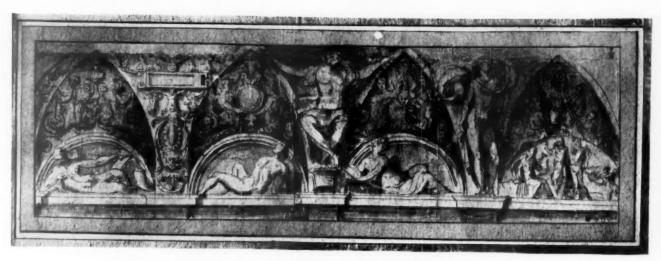
Yet while Perino may have been concerned here primarily with the problem of animating the

<sup>19.</sup> No. 8798, pen and dark brown ink. Verso: rough fragmentary sketches for unidentified vault compartments.

<sup>20.</sup> Angelini, op.cit., p. 13.
21. If the dais below the feet of the figures was painted, its decoration has now been lost. Vasari (op.cit., p. 613) only says that "le facciate sono lavorate fino in terra."

<sup>22.</sup> Perino may have known from drawings the Gemma Augustea or the Great Paris sardonyx or some similar cameo. But these antique gems show only one or two figures seated side by side.

<sup>23.</sup> The warrior on the west end wall, who may be Tomaso Doria (see Labò, op.cit., p. 38, for the traditional names of the warriors), seems derived from the figure of Lazarus in Sebastiano del Piombo's painting in the London National Gallery. Sebastiano's influence can be seen in other work by Perino, for example, the prophets of the Cappella Pucci, Trinità dei Monti. It is tempting to search for Andrea Doria's portrait among the warriors. Unfortunately most of them look more or less like the Admiral.



1. Study for atrio vault. Chantilly, Musée Condé (photo: Bernard)



2. Study for atrio vault. Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins



3. Study for atrio vault. Uffizi (Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Firenze)



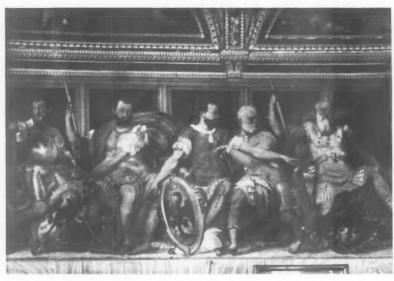
4. Study for atrio vault (?). Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins



5. Loggia, Palazzo Doria, Genoa (photo: Alinari)



6. Study for the loggia. Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins



7. Detail of the loggia (Courtesy Craig H. Smyth)



8. Study for the loggia. Bayonne, Musée Bonnat



10. Detail of loggia vault, Palazzo Doria (photo: Alinari)



9. Detail of loggia, Palazzo Doria (photo: Noack)



11. Study for loggia vault. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum



12. Detail of loggia vault, Palazzo Doria (photo: Alinari)



13. Study for loggia vault (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)



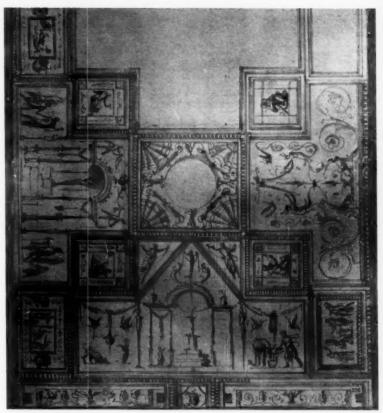
14. Fall of the Giants, ceiling fresco, Palazzo Doria (photo: Alinari)



15. Study for Fall of the Giants. Larchmont, New York, S. S. Schwarz Coll.



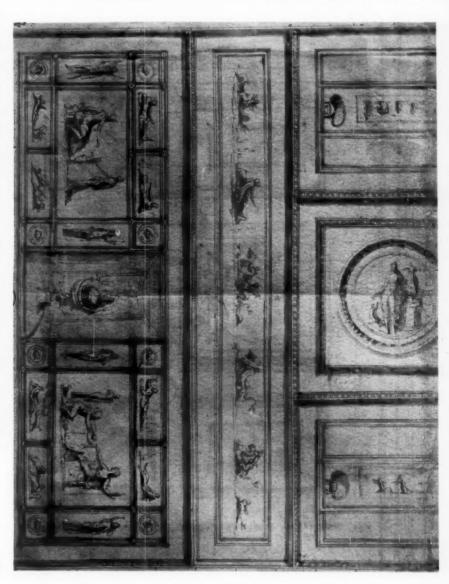
16. Detail of vault of the Sacrifice Room, Palazzo Doria (photo: Soprintendenza alle Gallerie della Liguria, Genoa)



17. Study for the vault of the Sacrifice Room (?). Chantilly, Musée Condé



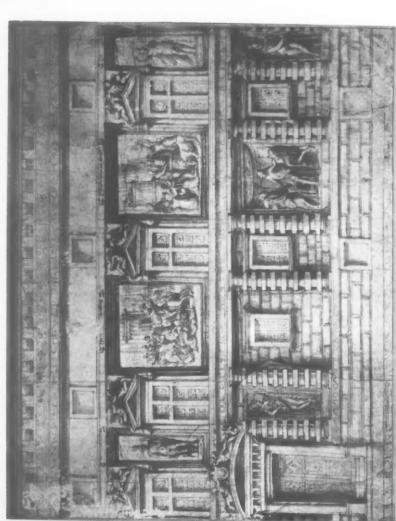
18. Detail of vault of the Zodiac Room, Palazzo Doria (Courtesy Craig H. Smyth)



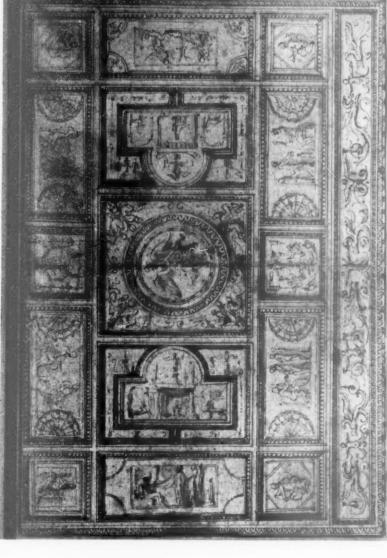
19. Study for the vault of the Zodiac Room Chantilly, Musée Condé (photo: Bernard)



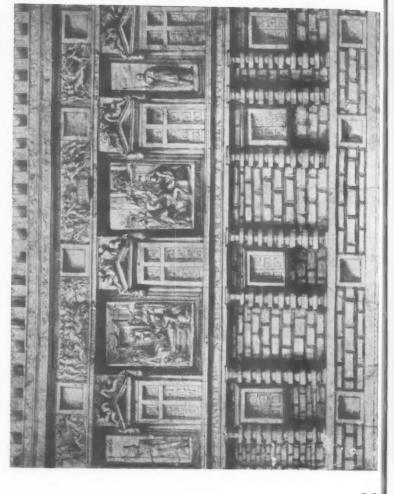
20. Vault of the Cadmus Room, Palazzo Doria (Courtesy of Craig H. Smyth)



22. Design for façade of the Palazzo Doria. Chantilly, Musée Condé (photo: Bernard)



21. Study for vault of the Cadmus Room. Chantilly, Musée Condé (photo: Bernard)



23. Design for façade of the Palazzo Doria Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

figures to make them visually interesting and of uniting them to form a continuous rhythmic pattern, one cannot dismiss the frieze as mere decoration. The uneven rhythms, the purposeless activity of the uneasy figures, and the fitful wind billowing about them are strangely disturbing, even moving in effect. The warriors of the Loggia degli Eroi thus stand midway between Perino's early attempts at genuinely dramatic compositions and the primarily decorative style of his late years. Little that he painted after the loggia reveals this degree of intensity, for even these lingering traces of Michelangelo's terribilità soon faded away on the Ligurian coast to a suave and gentle maniera more natural to Perino's graceful talents.

Though less striking than the warrior frieze, the stucco-encrusted vaults of the Loggia degli Eroi are among Perino's finest inventions. Divided into five bays, they rise from a cornice running the length of the loggia.24 Filling the lunettes above the cornice are painted putti playing with various martial and maritime trophies. Above the smaller doors are semi-reclining figures supporting standards with the legends Bene and Merentibus.25 The vaults are filled with octagonal painted scenes of Roman heroes and a rich ornament of stucco work. In the center of the first bay at the west end is Horatius Cocles defending the bridge. Four scenes of Venus and Cupid surround this composition. The subject of the second bay is uncertain but possibly represents Titus Manlius. In the center bay is Marcus Curtius. The subject of the fourth bay is again unclear, but probably Camillus is portrayed refusing ransom to the Gauls. In the last vault is Mucius Scaevola and around him four scenes of putti playing with trophies.

The little painted scenes are of very high quality; the stucco work that enframes them is exceptional. These stucchi probably surpassed all others in Italy at that date except for those of the Villa Madama which were Perino's model. According to Vasari, Perino first learned the art of stucco work by studying the ancient grotte of Rome.26 He then perfected his skill while assisting Giovanni da Udine with the stucchi and grotesques of the Vatican loggie. Shortly thereafter, Giovanni began the stucco decoration of the Villa Madama, where he developed a style of stucco ornament of which the sculptural vigor and exuberance of invention went far beyond any ancient examples of the art known today.27

It was this "baroque" style of stucco decoration that Perino introduced to Genoa in his Loggia degli Eroi. Rich stucco moldings of garlands, rosettes, acanthus leaves, and other foliated patterns frame the panels of his vaults, no two of which are exactly alike. The second and fourth bays contain stucco relief scenes of an allegorical nature, including Peace, Fame, and various armorbearing putti. The corner reliefs of the central bay are the most ambitious and attractive of the loggia. Four deities are represented—Apollo, Diana, Artemis of Ephesus, and Neptune. All four are in some capacity deities of river and ocean. They may also represent sun, moon, earth, and sea, and the four elements, all beneficent powers, protectors of the Admiral and his ancestors.28 Perhaps the gigantic Doria captains were intended to suggest a council of demigods, mortal but heroic representatives of the gods overhead.

Although the figures and decorative motifs Perino uses often seem imitated from the antique, the quotations are seldom direct. Usually one can find an intermediary source in Raphael's work, or in that of his studio, as we have already seen in the warrior frieze.20 Similar intermediary models

<sup>24.</sup> The inscription on the cornice reads: PRAECLARAE FAMILIAE MAGNI VIRI MAXIMI DUCES OPTIMA FECERE PRO PATRIA.

<sup>25.</sup> Perhaps because of the paragone issue, Vasari (op.cit., p. 613) bestows high praise on these figures each pair of which seems to show front and back views of the same pose. The figures were covered with drapery at a later date (Ange-

lini, op.cit., p. 14).
26. Vasari, op.cit., p. 593.
27. This ornament in high relief seems influenced more by antique altar reliefs than by antique stucco work.

<sup>28.</sup> The attributes of these four gods might, with a little

stretch of the Renaissance imagination, be multiplied further to include, for example, their patronage of war, the arts, agriculture, and so forth. Giovanni Battista Armenini (De' veri precetti della pittura, Ravenna, 1586, pp. 181-182) explains that the theme of the vault frescoes is concerned with great Romans who liberated their country. The Doria captains were presented similarly as defenders and benefactors of Genoa. This broad iconographic theme may have determined the general program for most of the public rooms as well as for the façade designs (see below).

<sup>29.</sup> Miss Askew (op.cit., p. 50 n. 18) did not find the sarcophagus that served as source for Perino's Triumph of

may be found for the loggia vault decorations. If the horse ridden by Marcus Curtius in the center bay (Fig. 10) reminds us of a classical steed, such as one in the Trajanic reliefs of the arch of Constantine, he is in fact an almost direct copy of a horse from the Battle of Constantine in the Vatican. The vault composition of Horatius Cocles (Fig 12) may have been inspired by Polidoro's façade painting on a house in Montecavallo, now lost and known only through drawings. The four scenes of Venus and Cupid surrounding Horatius Cocles also have classical ancestors, but again Perino borrowed his motifs directly from the Raphael circle-from Cardinal Bibbiena's bathroom, from the Vatican loggie stuccoes, from Marcantonio's engravings and from other familiar compositions. It is, of course, neither surprising nor unusual for an artist of his generation to choose for his models the paintings of Raphael, of Michelangelo and of his contemporaries in preference to classical works. It was generally felt, as Vasari explicitly records, that these artists had equaled if not surpassed the ancients.30 The grace and rhythmical suavity of Raphael's interpretations of antiquity would surely have seemed to Perino even more attractive than the antique originals.

According to tradition, Luzio Romano was responsible for executing the loggia stucchi, although others have suggested that they were modeled by Silvio Cosini. 81 It seems strange that no one has proposed what seems most probable—that Perino, one of the best trained, most skillful stuccatori in Italy, himself executed the more important sections of the vaults. The figures of some of the gods in the center bay seem particularly characteristic of Perino's hand as we know it from his paintings and drawings (Fig. 10). Not only are the facial types, the boneless, swaying figures, the softly crumpled, billowing drapery entirely characteristic of his style, but even the modeling reminds one of his draftsmanship. The treatment of Neptune's hair, for example, with its clusters of soft, loose curls, is the plastic equivalent of such a drawing as the study of Saturn for the Sala dei Trionfi (Fig. 3). Furthermore, the pictorial handling of these reliefs differs from the more sculptural treatment of the generally inferior stucco work in other rooms of the palace, as for example, the lunettes of the Sala dei Giganti.

Although the stucchi, which are fairly well preserved, seem to have been modeled by Perino's own light hand, it is futile to debate how much of the painting he himself carried out. According to Angelini, the loggia frescoes before the middle of the last century were in such a state of ruin and neglect that had he not referred to old copies of the paintings for guidance, he would not even have found the original contours of some of the warriors.82

If we can no longer discern Perino's own hand in the frescoes, we can be certain that they derive from his designs, for several of his studies still exist. Most are drawn in the same rapid pen style as the study for the atrio lunette of fighting men. One of these loggia drawings, belonging to the Louvre, shows the care with which Perino worked out the pattern of the warriors' poses (Fig. 6).33 Each gesture, each glance was calculated for its compositional role and its dramatic impact. On the verso of this drawing is the fragmentary sketch of a grotesque design with color notations in Perino's hand. This sketch is a study not for the loggia vault, but for that of the Roman Caritas Room behind it. The drawing therefore is of special archaeological interest. Not only does it support the hypothesis that Perino worked on more than one room at a time but it is also valuable in reconstructing for us a portion of the Roman Caritas ceiling which has long since vanished under layers of repaint.34

Bacchus in the atrio because again the antique elements were filtered through a Raphael composition. It was the Triumph of Bacchus for Duke Alfonso-which Raphael never finished -that both Perino and Garofalo copied.

30. Vasari, op.cit., IV, pp. 11-15. 31. Carlo Gamba, "Silvio Cosini," Dedalo, X, 1929, p. 241. 32. Angelini, op.cit., p. 14. Of the vault paintings, that of Mucius Scaevola had been especially badly damaged. Although the loggia was not directly hit during the last war, again years of neglect and exposure wrought irreparable damage and again large sections of the paintings were virtually obliterated.

33. No. 634, 155 x 128 mm, pen and brown ink, traces of sanguine.

34. Angelini says (op.cit., p. 22) that a custode had whitewashed the room and it proved almost impossible to uncover The most impressive study for the loggia frieze is one of the rare chalk drawings by Perino (Fig. 8). It is a study for the warrior, Ansaldo according to tradition, on the west end wall of the loggia. The study is very close to the final painted version (Fig. 9). Here, as in the Louvre pen drawing, Perino was primarily interested in composing the long rhythmic curves of the contours and in arranging the decorative patterns formed by these contours and the shapes they delineate. As in the atrio, Parmigianino's influence seems to prevail over Perino's style at this time. The luminous quality, so characteristic of his wash drawings, is even more conspicuous in this chalk drawing. A pearly light plays over the form creating lively contrasts of sun and shadow, leaving delicate edges of reflected light along the contours. The drawing reveals all too clearly how much of the original quality of the fresco has been lost.

Two more pen drawings for the loggia have survived; both are for vault paintings (Figs. 10 and 12). A study for *Marcus Curtius* belongs to the Ashmolean Museum<sup>36</sup> and one for *Horatius Cocles* is in the British Museum (Figs. 11 and 13).<sup>37</sup> Since both drawings are squared for transfer and differ only in minor details from the paintings, they may be the final studies from which Perino made his cartoons.

The loggia was one of Perino's most outstanding designs for the Palazzo Doria. The Sala dei Giganti and the Sala del Naufragio may have been more impressive for their enormous size and for the dramatic subjects of the paintings, but for quality of imagination and of execution, to judge by what remains, the loggia was their equal.

With the exception of the long-vanished Naufragio ceiling, the dating of the remaining rooms is even less clear than those already discussed. On either side of the loggia are two great salons which span the full width of the palace, and beyond each of them lies a suite of four smaller rooms. To reach either suite from the central staircase without going out-of-doors, one has to cross the loggia and one of the great rooms. The more important suite lies in the west wing beyond the Sala dei Giganti. It seems to me, therefore, probable that the Sala dei Giganti, as well as most or all of the smaller rooms of the piano nobile were completed for Charles' visit in March of 1533.<sup>38</sup>

It seems hardly a coincidence that the subject of this most ambitious fresco in the Doria palace was the same as one that Giulio Romano had recently begun for Federigo Gonzaga in Mantua. The artists as well as their patrons had sufficient motives for rivalry. Perino and Giulio were already competitors from their Roman days, while Prince Doria and Duke Federigo both served the Emperor and hence were also competitors. Perhaps the fantastically extravagant entertainment Doria offered his patron in 1533 was partly motivated by a desire to eclipse Federigo's hospitality. Charles had twice visited Mantua as Federigo's guest before he came to Fassola.

Since Perino's Fall of the Giants (Fig. 14) does not resemble Giulio's, it seems unlikely that Perino had seen the Mantua frescoes. However, a preliminary drawing for the Giganti ceiling (Fig. 15) suggests that Perino may have studied Giulio's nearest available painting. His Stoning of St. Stephen in Santo Stefano, Genoa, may have inspired the dramatic illumination of this

any of the original. "Fui costretto servendomi della stessa idea dell'antica pittura, a farla del tutto nuova."

35. Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, No. 1292, 295 x 170 mm, red chalk. There catalogued as "School of Raphael."

36. 215 x 218 mm, octagonal, pen and brown ink over black chalk, squared in plumbago. Cf. K. T. Parker, Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum, II. Italian Schools, Oxford, 1956, No. 730, Pl. CLXII.

37. No. 1946-7-13-58, pen and brown ink squared in black

chalk, octagonal.

38. Miss Askew has proposed a later date, 1536, for the ceiling, suggesting that the subject refers to Doria's triumph over the Turks in 1535. However, the subject is open to many interpretations. Hartt, for example (Giulio Romano, New Haven, 1958, I, p. 157) believes that Giulio's Fall of the Giants in Mantua refers to Charles' attempt to extend im-

perial rule over Italy. Unfortunately, without some kind of documentary support such iconological conjectures add little to our comprehension of the meaning of either fresco since the possible interpretations are too obvious, too numerous, and too general to be illuminating. Even specific emblematic themes are of little assistance in dating or explaining the subject. The motifs of Olympus, thunderbolt, eagle, and winds which Mr. Hartt cites as Gonzaga devices, are just as often found in the Doria palace and no doubt in many other Italian palaces whose owners aspired to glory.

39. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. S. S. Schwarz, Larchmont, New York, 23.3 x 39 cm. Pen with brown ink and brown wash, heightened with white on paper prepared with brown wash. I am most grateful to Mr. Schwarz for allowing me to publish this drawing and to Miss Askew for calling it to my attention.

drawing, its moonlit landscape, dark storm clouds, and even the general arrangement of the composition.40

The Schwarz drawing must be one of the earliest studies for the ceiling since it differs in many ways from the final composition. Although less carefully organized, it is more strikingly dramatic than the painting. In the drawing, the figure of Jove rushes forward on thunderclouds into the midst of the stricken giants. His twisting, windswept form and powerful gestures recall the Creation panels of the Sistine Ceiling. But in Perino's fresco this dramatic vigor is sacrificed to other considerations. It is the formal structure of the fresco composition that seems above all to interest him. The figures are forced into elaborately artificial attitudes to form a complex pattern of formal and spatial "puns." The artist's insistent emphasis on the abstract design counteracts all sense of real physical movement. Thus Jove no longer strides forward, one arm stretched before him, the other thrown back in menace. His limbs are now placed parallel to the picture plane and his gestures have lost all physical force; he can only hold, not hurl, his thunderbolts. Similarly, most of the other major figures are arranged—one cannot say they move, for these figures seem incapable of action—in either frontal or profile poses. They are puppet figures, however realistically painted, and their attitudes are so carefully staged to conform to compositional requirements that their behavior seems unrelated to the purportive physical and emotional situation. This dislocation from reality is especially obvious in the group of fallen giants arrayed in a petal-like pattern across the foreground. One loses sight of the ostensible subject of the fresco in tracing the ingenious repetitions and inversions of the poses, such as, for example, the curious motif of an arm crooked over a head which is echoed with variations throughout the composition.

While the repetition of motifs reduces the role of individual figures to that of beads on a chain, this device at the same time serves to unite visually the upper and lower halves of the huge composition. Also important in bridging the rift between the two sections is the central oval shape formed by Jove and the zodiacal band above and the sprawling giants below. This oval locks the vast ceiling in a tense central knot where all the ambiguities of surface-depth relationships reach a climax. Although Perino has emphasized the surface pattern by his use of frontal or profile poses, by the repetition of motifs, and by highlighting only those parts of the figures which link them to the two-dimensional design, he does not entirely eliminate the sense of depth. He provides the spectator with all the conventional means of reading depth in a painting—the placing of a series of figures one behind another: the contrast in scale between foreground and background: the recession through perspective in the arc of the zodiac. It is at the center of the composition that these implications of depth are strongest and yet it is here at each point of greatest depth that Perino most strongly emphasizes the relationship of the forms to the surface design.

In refuting each suggestion of depth by an equally strong reference to the surface pattern, Perino infuses his composition with an intensity and tension that partly substitute for the more obvious drama of the early drawing study. In the warrior frieze of the loggia Perino had worked out (and in the drawings we can see the progress of his thoughts) a less elaborate solution to the same problem. But in the Giganti ceiling Perino developed both the problem and the solution of surface-depth relationships to a point of complexity beyond which it would be difficult to progress without resorting to the tricks of an Arcimboldo. Perino, himself, as far as one can judge from surviving works, must have considered the subject exhausted. When he experimented later with aspects of illusionism, which always interested him, he treated the matter in a more relaxed and decorative manner, as in the Sala Paolina which is virtually a treatise on variations of illusionism.

<sup>40.</sup> The 1534 Nativity (Kress Collection, Washington National Gallery) also bears evidence of Perino's renewed interest in Giulio's work.

<sup>41.</sup> Curiously enough, Jacopino del Conte, Perino's friend and follower, uses just such dual images in several of his

pictures.

<sup>42.</sup> One of Perino's most impressive early illusionistic designs can be seen in a drawing in the British Museum (1885-5-9-42) for a chapel wall with painted stairs leading to a painted stage where saints and donors receive a vision of the

The eight smaller rooms—four on each side—that lie beyond the great salons are less ambitious in their decoration. The general pattern of decoration for all of the small apartments is similar. A rectangular ceiling section is divided by moldings into compartments of various shapes containing allegorical or mythological scenes and figures, or grotesque designs. Some of the scenes are painted and some are in low-relief stucco, set like cameos in the vaults. The spandrels contain similar motifs, while the lunettes present the theme for which the room is named. These lunette stories are staged with minimum of figures, seldom more than one or two, and the intended function of the little scenes is decorative rather than dramatic. Here are none of the complex tensions or startling illusionistic devices of the state rooms. The decoration of the private rooms is in a lighter vein.

Next to the Sala del Naufragio are the Jupiter and the Psyche Rooms. Beyond them are two very small rooms which seem almost entirely repainted and possibly do not even reflect Perino's design. Some of the motifs appear to be more characteristic of nineteenth than of sixteenth century decoration. The four *stanze* off the Sala dei Giganti are more elaborately decorated than those of the east wing, and the outer pair, at least, is considerably larger than the corresponding pair in the east wing. Next to the Giganti are the Perseus and the Sacrifice Rooms (Fig. 16). The

Zodiac (Fig. 18) and Cadmus Rooms (Fig. 20) follow.46

Several studies by Perino for the small apartments are in the collection at Chantilly. Only two can be identified with existing ceilings in the palace, but the other drawings are so similar in style that we can reasonably assume they were plans Perino abandoned or that they were designed for some ceiling which has been destroyed or so heavily restored it no longer resembles the original. The two identifiable drawings are for the Zodiac and Cadmus Rooms. The study for the former (Fig. 19), representing only half the ceiling, can be recognized through the pattern of compartments, but the motifs drawn within the compartments differ from those seen in the photograph of the ceiling (Fig. 18) and which are now no longer visible.47 It would be difficult to determine how many of these changes were made by Perino in developing his design and how many by restorers in reconstructing his damaged work. The drawing for the Cadmus Room (Fig. 21) more closely resembles the actual ceiling (Fig. 20).48 Like all of these ceiling studies, it is a supremely skillful drawing. Light, witty, animated, it is as delicate and intricate as fine lace, yet as free and lively as the quickest sketch. Another drawing in Chantilly may represent an early plan for the ceiling of the Sacrifice Room (Fig. 17).49 The drawing contains many motifs similar to, if not identical with, those on the ceiling, and some of the scenes apparently depict sacrifices. However, neither the pattern of compartments nor the proportions of the area represented correspond with those of the present ceiling (Fig. 16).50

Madonna and Child. Another illusionistic design (Uffizi 64) which has, since Milanesi made the initial error (Vasari, op.cit., v, p. 598 n. 2), been considered an early drawing for the Palazzo Baldassini is actually a much later work. It is obviously a study for the same room as Uffizi 67 which is inscribed over the doors GU. VB. DX. Guidobaldo did not become Duke of Urbino until 1538.

43. The Jupiter room Angelini reported to have been heavily restored with oil paints. It is in poor condition today. The Psyche room has suffered even more serious damage for the entire central portion of the vault has been scraped down to the brick. In Angelini's day the room was fairly well preserved. Angelini, op.cit., pp. 17-18. (All the rooms of the east side.)

44. Angelini described the room on the street side as badly deteriorated. That on the sea side had been repainted in chiaroscuro and the older paint beneath came off with the new

when he tried to remove the latter.

45. Vasari suggests that Perino's assistants executed most of the east wing and that Perino supplied only the drawings (op.cit., pp. 615-616). He implies, what one would surmise today, that Perino played a larger part in the decoration of

the west suite.

46. Angelini (op.cit., pp. 20-22) reported the Perseus room to be very badly damaged. It had been thoroughly repainted and much of the original design was lost, especially towards the outer wall where all the decoration had disappeared. Today at least half of the lunettes are indecipherable. In the Sacrifice room Angelini found that from the middle of the vault towards the street wall the decorations were in ruins, including the stucchi. He reconstructed or invented to fill in the losses. Today this room appears to be in slightly better condition than the Perseus room. However, only half the lunettes are at all visible. The Zodiac and Cadmus rooms Angelini reported so heavily repainted that he could barely make out the original designs. During the last few years, since the photographs were made, the paint has blanched so badly that almost nothing can be seen of these frescoes.

47. No. 85, 260 x 340 mm, pen and wash. On the verso is another ceiling design which does not correspond to any

of those in the palace.

48. No. 83, pen and wash.

49. No. 84, 335 x 250 mm, pen and wash. 50. Another drawing in Chantilly, No. 73, may be for the Once the piano nobile was completed, Perino must have started work on the façades. For the street entrance he designed, according to Vasari and all subsequent tradition, the portal which was executed by Giovanni da Fiesole and Silvio Cosini. A drawing in Chantilly supports this attribution and reveals, moreover, that Perino had planned to decorate the entire façade (Fig. 22). A second drawing for the façade belongs to the Rijksmuseum (Fig. 23). From the inscription the latter drawing can be dated 1534 or later. Evidently the façade designs were not started until shortly before Perino went to Pisa and perhaps because of this interruption were never completed. These drawings, therefore, are among the latest Perino did for the palace and are closely related in style to the drawings made in Rome a few years later. In fact, the design itself resembles another façade drawing (Louvre 602) that Perino made for one of the Pope's palaces which also evidently was never executed. The neatly rounded character of the lines and forms and the skillful addition of wash, which is always carefully applied, always transparent and subtly modulated, characterize this late style and distinguish Perino's work from that of his many imitators.

The more traditional treatment of illusionistic devices also relates the Doria façade designs to Perino's later Roman work. There is nothing especially dramatic or startling about his combination of architectural, sculptural, and painted elements. From the drawings, however, it is difficult to determine just what part of his design was to be painted and which elements were to be three-dimensional. Many of the windows still exist today. Some have been enlarged and others were added later. The rustication and the putti on the pediments would probably also be "real," but the ground floor figures were no doubt intended to be painted to simulate statues. The scenes of Roman history on the upper floor are inserted within frames and seem frankly paintings, although probably they would have been executed in bronze or grisaille. Prince Doria seems to have considered that the history of Camillus, who freed Rome from the Gauls and was known as the Second Founder of Rome, had significant similarities to his own career in Genoa.

palace decoration (360 x 250 mm, pen and wash). It is a study for wall grotesques and has as the central motif an eagle crowned with flames, which could be a Doria emblem. A less elaborate drawing in the Metropolitan Museum presents a similar wall decoration (80.3.580). In the Uffizi (3475) is a pen and wash study for two vault compartments which are again similar to drawings for the Doria decorations. Again eagles, the Doria emblem, appear throughout.

51. Vasari, op.cit., pp. 612-613. Carlo Gamba (op.cit., p. 240) suggests that the portal was actually executed by Silvio's brother, Vincenzo.

52. No. 75, 290 x 390 mm, pen and grey wash. It is much torn and patched along the bottom. Merli and Belgrano, disturbed by the relationship of the portal to the other architectural members about it, suggested that the doorway had been moved there from some other part of the palace (op.cit., pp. 20-21). The drawing proves that the doorway was designed for its present position. Since it differs in many details from the doorway actually executed, the drawing cannot be a

copy after one already in existence.

53. 29.5 x 36.2 cm, pen and grey-brown ink, grey wash. I am grateful to Mr. Philip Pouncey for bringing this drawing to my attention.

54. I wish to thank Dr. Phyllis Pray Bober and the several other friends who have tried to help me to decipher the cornice inscription on the Rijksmuseum drawing. It seems to have been excessively abbreviated and perhaps somewhat garbled in transcription. Probably Perino merely wished to suggest the effect of an inscription. Since the inscription on the actual cornice (cf. Labò, op.cit., p. 25) bears the date MDXXVIIII, one wonders if Perino slipped in copying the number "V" or if the number on the drawing is perhaps after all not a date. But, if the Rijksmuseum drawing can be dated 1534 or later, then one must conclude that the inscription now on the façade may not have been carved in 1529 even though it states that the building was restored at that time.

55. Vasari, op.cit., p. 616.

56. Ibid., p. 117.

storia a canto a quella del Pordenone."57 Of Girolamo da Treviso, Vasari said "dipigneva una facciata che guardava verso il giardino."58 These garden façade frescoes have long since vanished. The frieze of putti survived longer than the rest, but even it had almost disappeared by the mideighteenth century. 50 Apparently Perino did not paint the garden façade, and if he made drawings for the frescoes, they have not been identified.

It is impossible to determine how much of the ground floor decoration he did himself, for little of this work has survived. Merli and Belgrano mention only two rooms in the east wing decorated with fresco and stucco in a style similar to, although less rich than, the small rooms of the piano nobile.61 The decoration of the ground floor was probably not begun until most of the upper, more important, rooms had been completed. If Pordenone actually was called to Genoa in 1532, as Fiocco suggests, one might tentatively propose this date for the beginning of work on the garden façade and the ground floor stanze, many of which may have been executed by Perino's

After 1533, Perino seems to have grown restless in Genoa. He probably still worked in the city through the early months of 1534, since he painted for the Baciadonne family chapel the altarpiece, now in the Washington National Gallery, which is dated 1534. By July 3, 1534, he had moved temporarily to Pisa. 88 Within two years, and perhaps much sooner, he was back in Genoa where he remained possibly until the autumn of 1538.64 During his last two or three years in Genoa, Perino must have painted many of the other church altars and palace decorations mentioned by Vasari, most of which are lost. Then, finding, perhaps, the opportunities for work dwindling and his duties becoming tedious, he moved back to Rome.

During the remaining years of his life, spent in Rome, Perino was awarded the most important decorative commissions the city had to offer. His vast projects for the Castel Sant'Angelo, the Sala Regia, and other palaces and churches profoundly influenced central Italian art for many years to come. Perino's elegant, graceful, mannered style made a strong impression on the younger generation of artists who began their careers during the thirties. Many of them assisted Perino or completed his projects after his death, as did, to name the more outstanding, Daniele da Volterra, Siciolante da Sermoneta, Marcello Venusti, Marco da Siena, Pellegrino Tibaldi, and Jacopino del Conte. Many artists less directly associated with Perino, such as Salviati and Vasari, also deeply

57. Ibid., p. 649. Ugurgieri (Le pompe sanese, Pistoia, 1649, 11, pp. 361-362) relates a Sienese tradition, which he does not himself believe, that Beccafumi did three scenes for the main façade of the palace which were so well painted that they were the only part of the façade still in good condition. If this statement adds nothing but confusion to the situation, it does at least contain one useful suggestion; the condition of the Doria frescoes had apparently already become a problem by the middle of the seventeenth century.

58. Vasari, op.cit., p. 614.

59. The frieze is mentioned as being in a state of decay in the 1768 edition of Soprani (Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti genovesi, 2nd ed., Genoa, 1768, 1, p. 383). It is still mentioned in 1781 by Brusco (Description des beautés de Gênes et ses environs, Genoa, 1781, p. 84). Angelini (op.cit., pp. 35-36) found faint traces of the frieze and of the two Jason stories, but no signs of Girolamo da Treviso's work. The putti frieze was assumed by some of the guide book writers, for example Brusco, to be the work of Perino. This error has occasionally confused later writers.

60. I have never succeeded in seeing the entire ground floor which is divided into private apartments and offices. There is also a gallery above, now an apartment, which I have not seen. This gallery is so richly decorated with stucco and fresco that had Perino designed it, Vasari would surely have mentioned it. Architecturally, this gallery appears later

in date. The gallery decoration was apparently first attributed to Perino by Ratti (often unreliable) and supported tentatively by Angelini (op.cit., p. 21) but denied emphatically by Alizeri (Guida artistica per la città di Genova, Genoa, 1846, III, p. 1289). There are other rooms on the piano nobile, beyond the central block, which were decorated at a later date. The few I have seen are in total ruin.

61. Merli and Belgrano, op.cit., p. 36.

62. G. Fiocco, Il Pordenone, Padua, 1943, p. 67.

63. A. E. Popham, "Sogliani and Perino del Vaga at Pisa,"

Burlington Magazine, LXXXVI, 1945, p. 86.

64. Raffaele Soprani (Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti genovesi, 2nd ed., Genoa, 1768, I, p. 386) says that Perino went to Rome but decided to return to Genoa. On the way a tempest blew his ship as far as Celle and in thanksgiving for his safe landing he painted an altarpiece for the church of San Michele. The frame of this painting was at a later date inscribed "Piscatorum sodalicium hoc opus divo Michaeli dicatum fieri jussit anno MDXXXV. Restauratum anno MDCCXCIX. II. L. L." If the date 1535 is correct and if Soprani's tale contains any truth, then possibly Perino returned to Genoa as early as 1535. Perino may have gone back to Pisa late in 1538 (cf. Popham, op.cit., p. 86) and from there it is assumed he went to Rome, where he is recorded in the spring admired him and found in his work much to imitate. In fact, most young painters of distinction in Italy worked in Rome during the decades of the forties and fifties, and few of them escaped the influence of Perino del Vaga.

MUSEUM OF ART
RHODE ISLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN

# NOTES

## A NOTE ON THE MÉRODE ALTARPIECE

### MEYER SCHAPIRO

In writing on the symbolism of the Mérode Altarpiece in 1945, I left unexplained the wooden board in which Joseph is drilling holes (Fig. 1). I could not relate it to the mousetraps that he has already made, which I had interpreted through a sermon of St. Augustine: "The devil exulted when Christ died, but by this very death of Christ the devil was vanquished, as if he had swallowed the bait in the mousetrap. . . . The cross of the Lord was the devil's mousetrap; the bait by which he was caught was the Lord's death."

Since then Professor Panofsky has supposed that the board is the perforated cover of a footwarmer,<sup>8</sup> and Miss Margaret Freeman has seen in it the tormenting spikeblock that hangs from Christ's waist in certain

images of the Via Crucis.4

Another explanation is suggested by a painting in a Netherlandish manuscript of about 1440: the Hours of Catherine of Cleves, formerly in the collection of the Duke of Arenberg and now belonging to Alastair B. Martin (Fig. 2).<sup>5</sup> In a miniature at the bottom of page 171, a scene representing the trapping of fish, there appears a boatlike contrivance of which the upper surface is a perforated board of almond shape; the holes are no doubt a means of ventilation. The device is apparently a box for storing live fish as bait; it is attached by a cord to a stake on the shore. Nearby are other instruments of the fisherman: an openwork trap and two wicker baskets for preserving the caught fish in the water.

What makes the bait box especially relevant to the picture by Robert Campin is the scene in the miniature above. The Incarnation is represented there, with God the Father sending forth the naked Christ Child, who bears the cross in his arms; behind him flies the dove. The action is set on a starry Eastern sky at early dawn above a rocky landscape; Christ and the dove descend toward a pond that fills the foreground. The absent Mary is perhaps implied in the star-filled Eastern sky at dawn, a current metaphor of the Virgin. 6

1. "'Muscipula Diaboli,' The Symbolism of the Mérode Altarpiece," ART BULLETIN, XXVII, 1945, 182-187.

2. Migne, Patr. lat., XXXVIII, col. 1210 (Sermo CCLXIII—De ascensione Domini). On this metaphor in Augustine's writing and its history, see J. Rivière, Le dogme de la rédemption chez saint Augustin, Paris, 1933, pp. 117ff., 320-338. This book was not available to me in 1945.

3. Early Netherlandish Painting, Its Origins and Character,

Cambridge, Mass., 1953, p. 164.

4. "The Iconography of the Mérode Altarpiece," The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, December 1957, p. 138. The same interpretation is now proposed by Charles de Tolnay, "L'autel Mérode du Maître de Flémalle," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, VIe période, t. LIII, 1959, p. 75.

5. The manuscript has been described by A. W. Byvanck, La Miniature dans les Pays-Bas septentrionaux, Paris, 1937, pp. 65, 117, 118. See also Panofsky, op.cit., p. 398, note to

Here, as in the Mérode Altarpiece, the Incarnation is associated with a marginal image in which appear devices for trapping. The painter of the manuscript evidently knew the art of the Flémalle Master, since the latter's compositions for the Crucifixion and the Descent from the Cross are copied faithfully in this book.7 As the Christ Child, with the bird of the Holy Spirit behind him, descends to the closed womb of the Virgin, bearing the cross with which to trap the devil, the fisherman below manipulates a long-handled net to draw the trapped fishes out of a round wicker basket floating in the pond. In representing an ordinary fishing scene, the miniaturist still holds to the connotation of the mousetrap. In the Middle Ages, in comments on Job 40:19, 20 (Vulgate)-"Canst thou draw out Leviathan with a hook?"-Christ's body was described as a bait on a divine fishhook which lures the demon to destroy himself.8

In the Mérode Altarpiece the perforated board is rectangular, to be sure, rather than rounded as in the miniature. The rectangular bait box is common in our day and we may assume that it was known in the fifteenth century. The context of the miniature, as of the altarpiece, and the other connections between the two works lead us to believe that in the Mérode picture, too, the board on which Joseph is at work belongs to the same complex of trapping and bait associated with the

Redemption.9

It may be objected that the genre scene in the manuscript is innocent of religious or other symbolism; as a representation of rural life on the lower margin of a page it is like hundreds of other images of daily work in later mediaeval manuscripts—images that have no apparent connection with the content of the larger religious pictures on the same pages. Yet in some marginal scenes one does notice a more or less obvious allusion to the major Biblical theme, as a parallel or parody drawn from the profane world. I have cited elsewhere a miniature of Cain killing Abel with a jawbone above which a monkey shoots a bird with a bow and arrow; the bestiality of man is compared with the cunning artifice of the beast. O Such spontaneous poetic transpositions of the main idea into a marginal image, unsup-

p. 103. I wish to thank Mr. Martin for kindly permitting me to study this manuscript and to reproduce the page.

6. Yrjö Hirn, The Sacred Shrine, London, 1912, pp. 465,

7. For the dependence of the Cleves master on Robert Campin, see Panofsky, op.cit., pp. 104, 176, 177 and figs. 129, 130.

8. Cf. Gregory, Moralia in Job, XXXIII, vii, 14; ix, 17 (Patr. lat., LXXVI, cols. 680, 682); and see Rivière, op.cit., p. 336 n. 2 for other references.

9. That mousetrap and fishing could be cited together as metaphors in an account of the Redemption is shown by a sermon in a breviary of the 14th century in Monte Cassino (Cod. XXXIV, p. 284). See Rivière, op.cit., p. 321 n.

(Cod. XXXIV, p. 284). See Rivière, op.cit., p. 321 n.
10. "Cain's Jawbone that Did the First Murder," ART
BULLETIN, XXIV, 1942, p. 211 and fig. 6.

ported by a text, are not infrequent and one may therefore look for a metaphorical content in the correspondances between the Incarnation above and the genre picture below in the page of the Book of Hours. The interpretation is, of course, only a plausible conjecture which owes what cogency it has to the relationships of the miniature with the Mérode Altarpiece where so many small elements are at the same time parts of a domestic world and mute symbols of a theological design. In the manuscript few of the miniatures are accompanied by marginal paintings—perhaps a half dozen of the sixty or more. Among these at least one alludes clearly to the religious scene above: on page 63 the painting underneath the Visitation represents the naked infant Christ in a net manipulated like a bird trap by another naked infant, undoubtedly John, who sits on the ground within a wicker enclosure. 11 On page 215, beneath a huge hell mouth where an angel comes to release the naked souls, a rustic suspends a wire between a post and a tree; two birds hover at the post and two others are caught in a cage, a reference perhaps to the state of man in purgatory and hell, although the image may be no more than a vaguely allusive genre scene inspired by the theme of enclosure and liberation in the miniature above.

By the fifteenth century the painter of manuscripts included in his repertoire many scenes of daily life suitable for the illustration of the calendars of psalters, breviaries, and books of hours, which could also serve him for the margins of other leaves. The image of fishing and baiting is not strictly an invention of the artist designed for the context of the Incarnation above. We suspect that it was based on a picture of the labors of a month. In the Grimani Breviary, a scene of night fishing, with similar devices, illustrates the calendar page for March. Since the Incarnation took place in that month, the choice of subject in the Hours of Catherine of Cleves seems altogether apt. A figure drawing eels (or fish) out of a weir or wicker basket

is represented earlier on Romanesque capitals of Cluny<sup>18</sup> and Vézelay.<sup>14</sup> In Vézelay an accompanying figure blowing a bellows, a personification of the wind, indicates that the scene represents a month, probably March,<sup>15</sup> or at least has been copied from a cycle of the months—the wind is a common illustration of March in the Early Middle Ages.<sup>16</sup> But for a closer parallel to our miniature in the representation of the months one must turn to the poem of Wandalbert of Prüm in the early ninth century (*De mensium duodecim nominibus*, signis, etc.). In December, he writes:

"All kinds of water fowl are caught in nets;
Here, too, in the fish-laden waters
Wickerwork baskets are set
And enclosures of faggots fixed at the banks
Where the fords slacken the flow of the
shallow stream
And the nets capture an easy prey."

17

I have not found this scene in Gothic calendars. But my knowledge of these is very incomplete. The images of the months in the later Middle Ages have yet to be collected and studied like those of the earlier period.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

# THE DOME OF SFORZINDA CATHEDRAL

JOHN R. SPENCER

Whether he be considered an amusing fiddler, a romantic, a second-rate artist or a first-rate mind with second-rate hands, Filarete seems due for a critical revaluation.¹ Anyone with the patience to plod through the arbitrary editing of von Oettingen's presentation of Filarete's treatise² soon becomes aware that the text is less dull than Alberti and less detailed than Vitruvius, although the debt to both is considerable. The im-

Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini rec. E. Duemmler, Berlin, 1884, 1, pp. 615, 616 (Mon. Germ. Hist.).

- 1. It seems necessary at the present time to reaffirm publicly my intention to publish in the very near future an edition and translation of Filarete's treatise on architecture together with a study of his sculpture and his constructed and theoretical architecture. The present note is merely an expanded version of an annotation for this publication. Research for this edition has been made possible by material collected by the late Dr. Emil Kaufmann loaned to me by the American Philosophical Society. Grants from the Morse Fellowship Committee of Yale University, a Fulbright research fellowship, and a Penrose grant from the American Philosophical Society made possible year of study in Florence in 1956-1957 where I was particularly indebted to Dr. Ulrich Middeldorf both for the use of the library of the Kunsthistorisches Institut and for his criticism and suggestions. A research grant was awarded this project by the American Council of Learned Societies for 1958-
- 2. Filarete (Antonio Averlino), Tractat über di Baukunst, ed. Wolfgang von Oettingen, in A. Ilg, Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik, New series, Vol. III, Vienna, 1890.

11. The bird-hunter's net is also a symbol of the Crucifixion. Cf. Gregory, Moralia in Job, XL, 24 (Patr. lat., LXXVI, cols.

691-692)—cited by Rivière, op.cit., p. 337.

12. Le Bréviaire Grimani de la Bibliothèque Saint Marc à Vénise, avec une introduction de Giulio Coggiola, Leyden, 1903-1908, fol. 4 (cf. also fol. 7). It is reproduced also by Paul Brandt, Schaffende Arbeit und bildende Kunst, Leipzig, 1927, II, fig. 5, p. 21.

13. Brandt, op.cit., I, fig. 242.

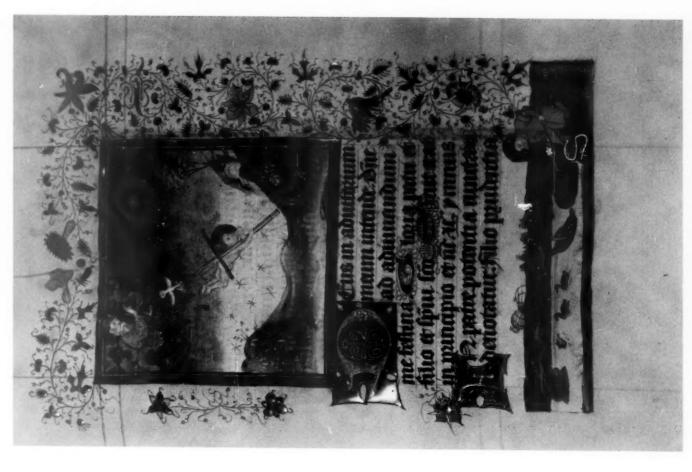
14. Ibid., fig. 243, and pp. 193ff. The action and instrument of these figures were first recognized by Brandt. They are still misinterpreted in a recent description by J. Adhémar, in Francis Salet, La Madeleine de Vézelay, Melun, 1948, p. 184, no. 23 (Étude Iconographique par J. Adhémar).

15. Brandt was puzzled by the figure with the bellows, and Adhémar, who recognized him as a wind, failed to see the con-

nection with the month (op.cit., p. 162 n. 1).

16. On the Wind as March, see J. C. Webster, The Labors of the Months in Antique and Mediaeval Arts to the End of the Twelfth Century, Princeton, 1938, p. 51, and my remarks in Speculum, XVI, 1941, pp. 135, 136.

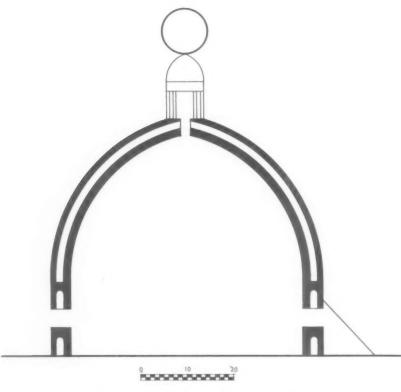
17. "Retibus hinc varias pelagi prensare volucres, Amnibus hinc etiam piscosis ponere crates Vimineas, densosque ad litora figere fasces, Qua vada demisso tranquillant flumine cursum Inventum, facilem capiant ut retia praedam."



2. Incarnation, Hours of Catherine of Cleves. New York, A. B. Martin (Guennol Collection)

1. Robert Campin, Joseph in his Carpenter's Shop, Mérode Altarpiece (right wing) (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection)





2. Reconstruction of dome of Sforzinda Cathedral

1. Dome of Sforzinda Cathedral. Florence, Bibl. Naz. MS 11, 1, 140, fol. 52V



1. James Barry, The Death of General Wolfe. New Brunswick Museum, Canada, Webster Collection

portance of Filarete's writings for the more obvious aspects of fifteenth century Italian art, everything from the continuation of Gothic traditions through systems of proportion to the uncritical taste of the times, are readily apparent in the only available edition of the text. The good things that Vasari claims to have found among so much foolishness<sup>3</sup> emerge only after a critical reading of the text and its illustrations. One such example, the dome of Sforzinda cathedral, contains implications that merit special attention both for the history of Renaissance architecture and for Filarete's personal

reputation.

In a work not noted for its clarity or completeness Filarete's description of the dome for the cathedral of Sforzinda is so complete that it may well represent either a direct borrowing from an existing source or a project which he planned but was never able to execute.4 His intention is simply stated; the fifty braccia square bay at the crossing is to be covered by a dome circular in plan with an octagonal drum serving as an intermediary form. (Fig. 2) He is quite explicit that the dome is not to be octagonal but "round, like a bowl turned upside down." The dimensions are equally clear. The drum is to be sixteen braccia high with four oculi, four braccia in diameter, located on the sides of the octagon that do not correspond to the nave and transept. They are placed midway in the height of the drum with six braccia of wall above and below. The drum itself is composed of an inner wall one and one half braccia thick separated from a one braccio exterior wall by a space of one and one half braccia. At the height of four braccia from the base of the drum and from the cornice above the oculi he vaults this passage to bind the walls together. Although the continuation of the double shell of the drum in the construction of the dome is not stated with explicit dimensions and mode of construction, it is implied in the mention of "stairs that rise to the top of the dome."6 The interior shell of the dome is to rise to a height of thirty-two braccia culminating in an oculus two braccia in diameter. On the exterior a lantern with a total height of twenty-four braccia rests on a base eight braccia in diameter. This lantern is composed of a double rank of columns two thirds of a braccio in diameter and six braccia tall. Above these rests a cornice two braccia high, a dome of six braccia and an orb with a diameter of ten.7 The system of proportions based on multiples of eight in ratios of 1:2, 2:3, etc. used consistently throughout the dome is quite apparent. The total height of the building is to equal its width of 150 braccia, although there is a discrepancy of six braccia, assuming that Filarete is still conforming

to his original intention of raising the crossing arches to a height of seventy-two braccia. However, the dual set of dimensions and plans for the body of the cathedral and the lack of coherence in their exposition may lead us to believe that Filarete is not wholly accurate in his avowed intention of constructing "the dome of the nave in proportion to the bulk of the church." The organization of the cathedral is so complicated and contradictory in comparison to the clarity of the exposition in treating the dome that I am led to believe the dome represents a pre-existing project and the cathedral proper a plan still undergoing elaboration.

The reconstruction of Filarete's dome presents only two minor difficulties. It is problematical whether he realized that the centers of the arcs required to raise his dome to a height of thirty-two braccia must be located above the base of the dome.8 The second question, arising from the first, concerns a slight outward bulge of the interior shell which makes it fall outside the perpendicular of the drum face for the first two braccia of its height. In actual construction this would probably present no problems, since this wall could be constructed in the perpendicular and would not visually appear to be so. Apparently Filarete is not here preoccupied with the usual mezzo, quarto, quinto acuto, a system which would have obviated these minor complications, but rather with the very simple and generally workable proportions that form the core of his treatise.

Considerable discrepancies seem to exist between the figure reconstructed from Filarete's text and the illustrative figure of the manuscript (Fig. 1), yet it is precisely these discrepancies which are most revealing for a true understanding of Filarete's concept of architecture. Several observations emerge from the confrontation of these two drawings concerning the reliability of the text illustrations and the possibility of discovering Filarete's sources from either drawing or text, I have already indicated9 the changes which take place between Filarete's plans and elevations where he reorganizes the masses for visual effects without reference to the proportions and elevations we are supposed to read from the plan. At the same time I questioned the validity of the drawings illustrating the two extant Italian versions of the treatise. The dome of the cathedral of Sforzinda affirms my earlier assertion. The text figure changes not only the profile of the dome but also its form, proportions, and relation to the body of the church. Filarete is quite explicit that this is to be a round dome, twice as high as its drum, which appears visually to spring from the roof-line of the church. The illustrator was perhaps a professional scribe working

or cross in conformity with tradition and with the balance of the treatise. The buttressing of the dome, included here on the right side only, would have interfered with the oculi.

<sup>3.</sup> G. Vasari, Vite, ed. G. Milanesi, Florence, 1878, 11, p. 457-

<sup>4.</sup> Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, Magl. II, 1, 140, fols. 52\*-53\*.

<sup>5.</sup> Magl. 11, 1, 140, fol. 52, "To lafaro tonda amodo duna scodella volta sotto sopra..."

<sup>6.</sup> Magl. II, 1, 140, fols. 52\*-53\*, "& di qui sifara scale che siverra (sic) asalire alla sommita della tribuna. . . ."

<sup>7.</sup> The reconstruction drawing follows the text literally even though an orb of these dimensions is out of scale. Undoubtedly Filarete intended a small orb supporting a figure

<sup>8.</sup> Filarete says, in fact, "As for making it higher than its radius of twenty-five braccia, I will raise it up with a compass until it comes to the height of thirty-two braccia." (Magl. II, I, 140, fol. 52,", "& quello che lafo piu alta chelsuo sesto ilquale sara venticinque braccia io innalzero colsesto tanto che verra allaltezza delle trenta due braccia").

<sup>9. &</sup>quot;Filarete and Central-Plan Architecture," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, XVII (1958), pp. 10-18.

from a manuscript similar to the lost Trivulzio version or on the basis of drawings supplied by Filarete that varied widely in completeness. As a result, reference to octagon, drum, double shell dome, and lantern have led him to a dome more closely related to the cathedral of Florence than to the dome described by Filarete.10 Unlike the illustration of the manuscript, the text and the reconstructed figure are much closer to Alberti's projected dome for San Francesco in Rimini both in profile and in the relation of the dome to the mass of the church. Filarete could have known both structures. Although he is alleged to have left Florence in 1433 prior to the closing of the dome in Florence, he could not have been totally unaware of its construction or of the controversies that raged around it. Filarete's presence in Florence again in 1449 and in Rimini in the same year aid in documenting his acquaintance with both structures. The discrepancies between the clarity of the dimensions and form of the dome and the lack of clarity in dimensions and organization of the body of the cathedral cannot be totally explained by sources. A more complete discussion of Filarete's reliance on San Marco in Venice for a great part of the cathedral of Sforzinda I prefer to reserve for a later date. However, the Venetian church does little to explain the preoccupation with domed structures which begins at this point in the treatise and dominates the ecclesiastical structures projected in the remainder of the work. There is as yet no clear proof that this dome was projected for an actual structure, yet Filarete was a frugal man who found an excuse to use again in his treatise the plans for the Ospedale Maggiore in Milan and for the cathedral of Bergamo. I have already suggested that this variant on the Bergamo plan may represent a rejected project for the church of San Sigismondo in Cremona,11

This section of the treatise, then, may represent an earlier serious study of the problems involved in the construction of a dome. In Filarete's architectural career the earliest and most important documented concern with a domical structure occurs at the cathedral of Milan. Despite the brevity of his association with the fabric (from 1452 until 1454 when he was dismissed as "superfluous") and despite the antagonism of craftsmen and directors, he was paid on November 4, 1452 for a wooden model of the dome of the cathedral.<sup>12</sup>

This places him at the head of the list of fifteenth century Tuscan artists engaged with the same project. Although it is pure conjecture, the dome of the cathedral of Sforzinda may represent the only visual record of Filarete's project for the dome of Milan cathedral. The quality of the exposition supports the hypothesis without proving it. Whatever its derivation or intended function the dome of the cathedral of Sforzinda stands historically between Brunelleschi and Alberti and the later work of Leonardo, Francesco di Giorgio, and Bramante. As such it occupies an important place in the history of the evolution of a form.

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

# JAMES BARRY, AND THE DEATH OF WOLFE IN 1759

#### DAVID IRWIN

Two hundred years ago on the Heights of Abraham the battle of Quebec was fought, in which the British general heroically died. "Oh Wolfe!" exclaimed a writer in 1760, "what a melancholy Fall was this for thy Country, yet, glorious and honourable to thee."1 Contemporary artists, as is well known,2 drew inspiration from the event of 1759, and painted several versions of the death of General Wolfe. Romney in 1763, Penny in 1764, and Benjamin West in 1771 exhibited paintings of this subject. The fourth artist to exhibit a Death of Wolfe was James Barry, whose picture was shown in the Royal Academy of 1776, and who had to compete against the wide popularity of West's version. It was, indeed, in January of the same year that Barry exhibited his Wolfe that the Woollett engraving of West's picture was published.

Barry's painting is now in the New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, Canada (Fig. 1). He has painted Wolfe as he lay wounded on the ground, after being helped from the scene of action with his third wound. He is supported by a Louisbourg Grenadier, while another holds a cloth over his bleeding wound. The battle itself is taking place in the right background, to which a soldier points, probably telling Wolfe of the enemy's defeat. At the left stand two naval officers mourning the general's approaching death. Lying dead on the ground in front of him are a French officer

10. The precise relation of this dome to Brunelleschi's work in Florence I leave to Mr. Saalman whose announced doctoral dissertation is directed toward a study of Brunelleschi's architecture. The very interesting questions of reliance on Brunelleschi for methods of organization and construction, as well as the implied criticism of Brunelleschi's dome, are better left to the man who has "staked out" this field. See now H. Saalman, "Giovanni di Gherardo da Prato's Designs . . .," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, XVIII (1959), pp.

11. Rivista d'Arte, XXXI (1956), pp. 93-103.

12. Annali della fabbrica del Duomo di Milano, Milan, 1877, Appendix II, p. 80. Also cited in Lazzaroni and Muñoz, Filarete, Rome, 1908, p. 179.

2. The literature on the Wolfe paintings is mainly concentrated on West's version. Adequate, but not exhaustive, accounts of Barry's painting are in: J. Clarence Webster, "The Pictures of the Death of Major-General James Wolfe," Journal of the Society of Army Historical Research, VI, 1927, pp. 30-36; and Edgar Wind, "The Revolution of History Painting," Journal of the Warburg Institute, II, 1938-1939, pp. 116-127. There is a passing reference in a footnote (p. 21) in Charles Mitchell, "Benjamin West's 'Death of Wolfe' and the Popular History Piece," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, VII, 1944, pp. 20-33.

3. Bought by the museum in 1929 or 1930 from Lady Nina Knowles. Formerly owned by Sir Lees Knowles, when the painting was illustrated for the first time in B. Smyth, A History of the Lancashire Fusiliers, Dublin, 1903-1904, I, opposite

p. 108.

<sup>1.</sup> J.\*\*\* P\*\*\*\*\*, The Life of General James Wolfe, the Conqueror of Canada, London, 1760, p. 15.

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wearing the Cross of St. Louis, and a naked Indian with one arm flung across a tomahawk.

The painting was not well received by contemporary critics, as the Penny and West versions had been. A critic in the Westminster Magazine in 1776, while admitting that Barry could produce pictures that "discovered genius and taste," makes an exception of the Wolfe, asking him how he could think of following West "with such unequal power." Elmes in his Arts and Artists says that the Wolfe is "deservedly forgotten," and that it was not favorably received because the artist "represented his figures naked, as a result of pride in newly acquired knowledge of the Roman antique and external anatomy."5 And Cunningham in his Life is equally harsh noting that "it was neither a poetic interpretation of the fight, nor an historical illustration, but a sort of mixture of both, hastily conceived and indifferently executed, and only redeemed from contempt by the sentiments of heroism, which triumphed in the looks of the expiring General." Cunningham concludes his remarks with some practical advice: "In subjects of a poetic nature, fancy may clothe as she pleases her own progeny; but in historic productions, the time and the people must be expressed."6

Elmes however cannot have seen the Wolfe itself, because the figures are in fact not naked. The only nudity (if it can be so called) is the bare chest of the general himself; the other five figures in the composition are fully clad. Neither can Cunningham have seen the painting because Barry does precisely what is recommended, namely, that in a history painting "the time and the people must be expressed." For Barry there is no symbolic and historically inaccurate Indian standing by the dying general, as in West's painting, nor is there a galaxy of personages who were not actually present at the death, such as the introduction in West's painting of Wolfe's senior brigadier, Monckton, who actually lay severely wounded in another part of the field at the

time.

Barry is silent in his published writings about the Wolfe painting. His editor Fryer condemns the work, and comments that Barry "never spoke of this picture." But among his unpublished notes is a sheet of jottings on Quebec and Wolfe that is of importance. It shows

emphatically Barry's concern for precise historical data connected with the battle, before he painted the picture. Barry in fact was much concerned with historical accuracy, a trait to be seen again later in the paintings for the Society of Arts (1778 onwards) when he borrowed portraits of persons to be included in the *Distribution of Premiums*, so that individuals would be physiognomically accurate. The sheet of jottings on Wolfe merits publication. 9

"Quebeck is composed of two towns, upper & lower, ye lower is washed by ye sea, ye upper is very high & upon a rock-higher than ye plains of Abraim-about three & 1/2 miles from ye place [of] engagement—ye pursuit was given over at ye windmill about 3/4 of a mile from ye town-ye plains where ye engagement was-is swampy & mossy[,] wild & uncultivated & interspersed with spruce & pine-when Wolfe received his mortal wound he remained behind upon ye heights of ye plains of Ebram as the troops were advancing down hill upon ye French-Wolfe did not expire until he was carried off in ye boat & going up ye ship's sidethere was [sic] two grenadiers left with Wolfe to help him off & also lieutenant Browne remain'd with him who belonged to ye same Grenadier company—as he was carried of[f] to the boats 'tis probable that there were some sailors or sea officers—as Wolfe made a feint below ye town, his landing was opposed above it only by a few french & indians but ye whole french army return'd soon after-

"Wednesday Nov.1.1775. Mr. Adair the Surgeon told me that he was not present at the Death of General Wolfe, that when he arrived he found him lying dead under a tree, where Mr. Browne related to him tho [se] memorable words with wch Wolfe expired."

The date 1775 clearly indicates that these notes were made before the picture was painted, and that Barry tried to collect precise information even from someone actually on the battlefield. The notes show an unusually high degree of interest in historical accuracy, and also indicate that Barry may originally have had more than one Wolfe subject in mind, such as the actual death (as he at first believed) off the battlefield. From these notes

4. Westminster Magazine, 1776, p. 236.

p. 230.

The manuscript sheet of jottings is bound into a manuscript volume of 241 folios, in the possession of Mrs. Anita

Daly of Cork, Ireland. Separate notebooks and sheets have been bound into one volume; not foliated. I am greatly indebted to Mrs. Daly for allowing me to consult this volume.

attempt at accurate details is not in all respects as accurate as he thought. (1) Contemporary accounts do not agree on who was in fact present at Wolfe's death. The main contemporary source, Captain John Knox's Historical Journal (1769), is not concerned with the minutiae of the death (Vol. II, pp. 71-73). However, recent research by Mr. Brian Connell (in preparation for his book, The Plains of Abraham, 1959) has shown that only three people were present when Wolfe died: one sergeant and one grenadier, both of the Louisbourg Grenadiers, and probably one unidentified regimental surgeon. (2) There is no contemporary evidence at all that Wolfe died in a boat. All accounts agree that he died actually on the Plains, only a few yards from the scene of action. (3) The Plains are not swampy. At the time of the battle in September they were dry, although during the winter they would be water-logged.

<sup>5.</sup> J. Elmes, The Arts and Artists . . . , London, 1825, II,

<sup>6.</sup> A. Cunningham, Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects, London, 1830, 11, pp. 91-92.
7. James Barry, Works, edited E. Fryer, London, 1809, 1,

<sup>8.</sup> Manuscripts, Royal Society of Arts, London. Barry letter-volume entitled "Papers on Barry's Pictures," not foliated. The volume includes a draft letter, not in Barry's hand, requesting "those Noblemen or Gentlemen, who are possessed of Portraits of Persons, recorded in ancient or modern History, as Friends of Mankind" to lend them to the Society so that Barry might use them in his painting. Several letters in the same volume refer to lending portraits: e.g. Lord Harcourt writes about his father's picture (not dated; letter received by the Society December 16, 1778); Mr. William Baker lends a medallion of Penn (September 10, 1779); etc.

it is apparent that Barry's intention in painting the Wolfe was not to idealize the subject-matter, but to use the canvas for pictorial reportage. It was perhaps for this very reason that contemporary opinion did not like the painting, as it was more familiar with the blend of idealization and reportage in West's version.

Barry's interest in strict historical accuracy, however unpopular it might have made his painting at the time, places his aims in the same school of thought as that of the Academy in seventeenth century France, in particular the idea of costume. Many of Barry's ideas can be traced to French academic theory, especially his admiration for the antique, Raphael, and Poussin. His ideas, of course, do not always strictly conform to French thought, as his admiration for Michelangelo and some mediaeval works shows, but his idea of accuracy can be found in the thought of Poussin and Fréart de Chambray. Although the idea of costume did not originate in seventeenth century France (there is the theory of Decorum in Leonardo's writings and in the works of Lomazzo's contemporaries), it is with French ideas that Barry's are most closely linked,

especially with that aspect of costume concerned not with Decorum, but with accuracy.

Félibien said Poussin had surpassed all other painters in costume, which he defines as "ce qui regarde la convenance dans toutes les choses qui doivent accompagner une histoire." Barry's collection of material for his Wolfe was done with the same intention in mind as Poussin's collection of archaeological data for the Holy Family in Egypt. Barry's painting, also, would certainly pass the test of two of the maxims that were applied to Michelangelo's Last Judgment in Fréart de Chambray's Idée de la Perfection de la Peinture:

"I. Que dans la Composition d'une Histoire, la Verité y soit premierement fort exacte et pure.

II. Qu'on ait une grande consideration du Lieu où elle sera representée."

Barry's Wolfe is an illuminating instance of a work by an English Neoclassical artist, whose treatment of subject-matter owes more to seventeenth century French academic theory, than to either the works of

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<sup>13.</sup> Fréart de Chambray, *Idée de la Perfection de la Peinture*, Le Mans, 1662, p. 71. An English translation was published only six years later, in 1668.

<sup>11.</sup> Félibien, Entretiens . . . , and ed., Paris, 1685-1686, II, p. 382.

<sup>12.</sup> Letter to Chantelou of November 25, 1658. Poussin, Lettres, edited P. du Colombier, Paris, 1929, p. 300.

## **BOOK REVIEWS**

KARL HEINZ CLASEN, Deutsche Gewölbe der Spätgotik, Berlin, Henschel-Verlag, 1958. Pp. 190.

Professor Clasen has for thirty-five years been interested in the art and architecture of East and West Prussia, especially of the Teutonic Order. He has written about their castles; he has published a large, two-volume book about sculpture in the territory of the Order (Berlin, 1939); and he is now extending his Prussian results to a treatment of one extremely important motif, the vault, in the whole of Germany. The only book of his which is familiar ouside Germany is the volume he wrote on Die gotische Baukunst in general for the Burger-Brinckmann Handbuch. This was completed and came out as a volume in 1930. It has one very curious peculiarity, which is reflected in this new book of his as well. He divides Gothic architecture into Early and Late, the boundary running through the first half of the fourteenth century. There is no High Gothic for Professor Clasen, an alarming feature, if only on the strength of the parallel with biological growth. Man does not move from youth immediately to old age, and one would not like to see the works of Michelangelo distributed among early and late exclusively. Professor Clasen tries to overcome the difficulty by splitting up his Frühgotik into prehistory, preparatory phase, early phase, classic phase, and late phase. That causes unnecessary complications. Ever since Dehio and von Bezold's second volume, of 1901, it has been recognized that the Chartres of 1194 etc. establishes the High Gothic, which then runs on to a moment on which no agreement has ever been reached. I would place it in the second half of the thirteenth century. Dehio calls Gothic architecture before Chartres Youth, from Chartres ("Die Wurzel der neuen Bewegung ist die Kathedrale von Chartres") Maturity. Thus it has been continued by others to Professor Jantzen's recent Kunst der Gotik (Hamburg, 1957) and Professor Frankl's forthcoming Gothic Architecture in the Pelican History of Art. For Professor Clasen, Chartres belongs to the Frühstufe of the Frühgotik, and Amiens to the classic phase.

But while this controversy touches his new book only marginally, the approximate date of the beginning of the Late Gothic style is central. How central it is will be shown in the following pages almost entirely in connection with one problem, the relation of German Late Gothic vaults to England. The thesis of the book must be briefly set out to demonstrate that this one-sided approach is permissible. The pattern under which the German Spätgotik has traditionally been seen is that it originated in the Parler family and that its first monuments are such buildings as the Parler choirs of Schwäbisch Gmünd and Prague. Thus it had been established in Professor Gerstenberg's classic Deutsche Sondergotik in 1913. Professor Clasen now tries to show in terms of the vault that the development from structural to decorative, which to him is the es-

sential development from Early to Late Gothic, started in Germany in the Prussian territory of the Teutonic Order and from there spread to Silesia and Bohemia, the whole Baltic coast, and the coast of the German Sea, and so gradually to the whole of Germany.

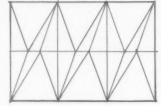
How true this is will not be discussed here. We can immediately apply ourselves to the English problem. Professor Clasen starts with a number of occasional odd vaults of shapes other than quadripartite and sexpartite, especially those which he calls Dreistrahl and which he finds already in the apse of Maria Laach before 1177. The term is usual in Germany but it is morphologically inadvisable. It implies that ribs start radially from a center, whereas the creative procedure is rather the splitting of one rib. The Vorläufer that Professor Clasen illustrates culminate in the aisles of Heisterbach, a Cistercian abbey demolished in the early nineteenth century (text fig. 1). It was begun in 1202, chancel and transepts were consecrated in 1227, the whole in 1237. So the date of the design of these (incidentally ribless) aisle vaults was 1202 at the earliest, ca. 1230 at the latest. They are the first on the Continent to be considered purely decorative, but they are not the first in Europe. Professor Clasen seems to know nothing of the chancel vault at Lincoln (text fig. 2), the one that Professor Frankl in this journal named the Crazy Vaults of Lincoln. They are crazy indeed in that they are not only a purely decorative variation on the theme of the quadripartite vault, but also a cunningly lopsided or syncopated one. They are also the first to have longitudinal ridge-ribs. However, it is the diagonal ribs that create the syncopated rhythm. The rib starting from the north springer and running southeast is split from the start scissor-wise so that two ribs reach the ridge-rib in the place where they are widest apart. They then close up again and unite at the south springer. The other diagonal ribs of the bay behave accordingly. Instead of running to the keystone or boss in the center of the bay as they would do in a normal quadripartite vault, they are deflected at once from the north as well as the south springer in order to reach the points of intersection between the longitudinal ridge-rib and the split diagonal ribs. The effect on paper is lopsided in a way quite different from that inside the building. On paper, as indeed in my description, one sees the whole in terms of separate bays. In the building one reads it instead as bunches of ribs rising like palm-leaves from springers, four to each bunch, and the bunches not corresponding in their spread across the bay. The master who designed the vault must have enjoyed this syncopation; for he used it at the very beginning of his work at Lincoln in the blank arcading of the outer aisle walls, which is two tiers deep in an alternating rhythm later repeated for instance at Mont-St.-Michel. Lincoln was started from the east in 1192. The nave was roofed in 1233; so the chancel vaults must have been ready a good deal earlier, say ca. 1210. They are then the earliest purely decorative rib vaults in Europe, and if,



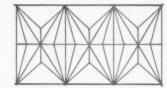
1. Heisterbach



4. Pelplin North Chancel Aisle



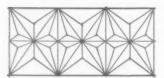
2. Lincoln. Choir



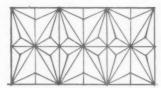
3. Lincoln. Nave Vault



5. Pelplin South Chancel Aisle



6. Pelplin, Chancel Vault



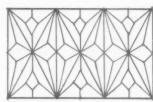
7. London St. Stephen's Chapel



9. Wells Northeast Chapel



10. Bristol. St. Mary Redcliffe South Porch



8. Bristol, Choir Chancel



11. Prague. Cathedral Sacristy, West Bay



12. Lincoln. Southwest Chapel



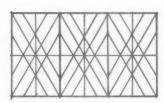
·13. Prague. Chancel Vault



14. Prague. Chapel of St. Wenceslas. Vault



15. Durham. Kitchen



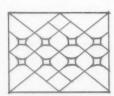
16. York. Nave



17. Bristol. St. Mary Redcliffe Nave, South Aisle



18. Bristol. St. Mary Redcliffe Transept, West Aisle



19. Ottery St. Mary



20. Wasserburg

as Professor Clasen writes, the decorative vault is the hallmark of Late as against Early Gothic, then this change would have taken place in England ca. 1210, that is a mere thirty-five years after the Early Gothic had started at Canterbury. Nothing could show more clearly that the Clasen terminology does not work. He seems to suspect this himself; for on p. 30 he speaks of "the first germs for the creation of a new attitude to vaulting in England" in the thirteenth century and then of "the expression of a complete change of attitude in England in the middle of the thirteenth century." Which of the two does he mean: the first germs

or the expression of a complete change?

In any case Professor Clasen operates not with the chancel but the nave vaults of Lincoln (text fig. 3). He dates these early thirteenth century, i.e. too early. They are of ca. 1240-1250. In them the second master has called the first to order. The new elements of ridge-ribs and split (i.e. tierceron) ribs are taken over, but they are regularized. The craziness is cured, and the result is a series of orderly, identical oblong star-vaults with continuous longitudinal and fragmentary transverse ridge-ribs. Here a system had been established, and it was at once taken over in the chancel at Ely completed in 1254, the Angel Choir, i.e. the retrochoir, at Lincoln, begun in 1256, and the nave of Westminster Abbey begun ca. 1260. Only a few years later the rebuilding at Exeter started with the same system but made it much more luxurious by triplicating the tiercerons in the north and south cells of the bays.

By then the system of the nave of Lincoln had reached the territories of the Teutonic Order. Professor Clasen's earlier example is the Cistercian Abbey of Pelplin (text figs. 4, 5). This was begun soon after 1276. The north aisle vaults seem to come first. They are identical with the Lincoln nave. The south aisle goes a little beyond Lincoln in keeping both ridge-ribs in a fragmentary form. Of the high vault of the chancel (text fig. 6) Professor Clasen says little. He does not try to date it and refers to its form merely as to one accepted in Prussia about the middle of the fourteenth

century.

He does not know or say that this also is a copy from England, but from the England of ca. 1300 rather than ca. 1250. The English building is St. Stephen's Chapel in the Palace of Westminster (text fig. 7). The vault of the undercroft, the only one that is preserved, is identical with that at Pelplin. St. Stephen's Chapel was begun in 1292. The date of the vault is controversial, but in my opinion it is of the end of the thirteenth century, for reasons to which I shall return presently. The pattern is distinguished from that of the nave of Lincoln by a further process of splitting. The longitudinal ridge-ribs, though kept intact, are at the same time split scissor-wise and the tiercerons in the longitudinal cells run against them instead of against the ridge rib. That means in English terms the introduction of liernes. They were at once taken over at Bristol Cathedral (text fig. 8), where the start of the new choir is 1298. But Bristol went one step further

than St. Stephen's and left out the ridge-rib. To this there seems no early German parallel.

The most familiar similarity between English and German vaulting is that of English polygonal chapter houses with the beautiful Chapter House and the two Remters of the Marienburg. They date from the first quarter of the fourteenth century. What they have in common with the English chapter houses is the middle piers and the palmfrond effect of ribs and arches of even profile rising all round from them, transverse, diagonal, and tierceron. But the similarity is less pronounced than at Pelplin; for the Remters are not polygonal, and the

ring-shaped ridge-rib is therefore lacking.

Professor Clasen's thesis excludes further direct English influence. In the case of Peter Parler's work at Prague Cathedral, which has always been recognized as central to the development of fanciful German vaulting patterns, he says explicitly that "there is nothing specifically English in its modes of vaulting" (p. 67). This assertion must now be examined, and it may be best to choose four specific points. In the west part of the vault of the sacristy (text fig. 11), a room dated 1356, there are on paper simply four vaults with normal cross-ribs, but there is no central pier and so the whole is in fact a pattern of four crosses. In the high vaults of the choir transverse arches (text fig. 13) are fragmentary ribs, i.e. ribs interrupted in the middle by a lozenge formed by means of the scissor-motif. Diagonal ribs are completely eliminated. Instead, each side of the scissor lozenge is carried on straight to the main springers. This vault is given by Professor Clasen to the late seventies. In the east part of the sacristy, i.e. again ca. 1356, appear the first flying ribs. They carry the central pendant. In the Chapel of St. Wenceslas (text fig. 14) completed in 1367 is a square vault with

the design of an eight-pointed star.

As regards England the west vault of the Prague Sacristy is preceded identically by the southwest chapel of Lincoln Cathedral of about 1250 (text fig. 12). The high vaults of the Prague chancel are very similar to those of the nave at York Minster (text fig. 16), although the latter have cross-ribs and the former have not. This was begun in 1291 and completed before 1350. (Diagonal ribs are also completely dispensed with in the southeast transept of Wells Cathedral [text fig. 9], which dates from some time before ca. 1340, the south aisle and south porch of St. Mary Redcliffe [text fig. 10] of about 1320, and the chancel of Wells, again of about 1340.) The flying ribs of the east part of the Prague Sacristy can be matched by those of the anteroom to the Berkeley Chapel at Bristol, ready probably by 1309. However, they serve a different purpose here, not that of seemingly carrying a pendant. Similarly the English counterpart to the star vault of the Chapel of St. Wenceslas, the vault of the monastic kitchen at Durham (text fig. 15) built in 1366-1370much later than the other English precursors anywayis not really quite the same. The center in Prague is a lozenge, in Durham an octagon. The Durham form is almost identical with a familiar Islamic form represented for instance in the Mosque at Cordova.

So we have been moving from immediate to less direct parallels, and in the case of the last motif here to be examined, that of ribs curved in plan, the similarity is yet less pronounced. Ribs curved in plan occur in the south aisle of St. Mary Redcliffe at Bristol (text figs. 17, 18), and can there be dated ca. 1320 and, under the influence of Bristol, at Ottery St. Mary in Devonshire (text fig. 19) fairly shortly after 1337. Professor Clasen dates the first German ribs curved in plan (text fig. 20) ca. 1440-1445 (St. Stephen at Vienna, Wasserburg, Meissen). But, while the priority of England is thus once more established, English curved ribs are of course very insignificant compared with the German ones, and it is a fact that German vaulting of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries is unique and of immense inventiveness and great daring. The most inventive, most fantastical, and most overcrowded English vaults are again of a much earlier date, e.g. the star vaults of the Ely choir and Lady Chapel (ca. 1330-1350) and the irregular net vaults of the Gloucester south transept and choir (ca. 1335-1360); but the German ones have obviously nothing to do with them. What is more, Professor Clasen is quite right in stressing the fact that even the wildest of English vaults have as a rule transverse arches and diagonal ribs, i.e. are less revolutionary than the German ones.

The purpose of this review, this will I hope have been obvious, is not to belittle the German achievement, but to suggest the possibilities of more English sources in the early stages than Professor Clasen admits.

A last word must be added on the ways in which English innovations might have reached first Prussia and then Prague. However, here unfortunately neither Professor Clasen nor I can offer much enlightenment. It is true that the first archbishop of Prussia had been bishop of Armagh, but he reached Prussia in 1245 which is too early a date for our purpose, and it is also true that English noblemen joined the crusades against Samland, Lithuania and Poland, but the earliest mention of English knights in Prussia is of 1331, and more of these safaris took place only in 1348, 1357, 1362, etc., culminating in 1390 when the future Henry IV helped against the Lithuanians—and all these dates are too late. And as far as trade relations are concerned, there is really not much more to be learned from the sources. They existed even before the Norman Conquest. English privileges for the merchants of Cologne are recorded in the later twelfth century, privileges for Lübeck, Brunswick, Hamburg in the thirteenth. As the Hanseatic League grew in power, they were reinforced considerably. As English trade and industry grew in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they were questioned and gradually reduced. Prussia exported corn to England, England exported to Prussia chiefly wool and cloth. All this is known and can be read in the textbooks. It allows for architectural implications, but the classes involved are not the most probable ones for having influenced a Cistercian abbey or the castles

of the Teutonic Knights or indeed the royal and imperial cathedral of Prague.

So we are left without an explanation why the Prussian knights in the late thirteenth and early four-teenth centuries and the Bohemian court of Peter Parler in the third quarter of the fourteenth should have turned to England for architectural inspiration. Even so, however, the relationship must be stated, and that is all this review was intended to do.

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HENRY-RUSSELL HITCHCOCK, Architecture, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1958. Pp. 498; 57 figs.; 192 pls. \$12.50. (Pelican History of Art)

Previous books have claimed to be histories of modern architecture, and at least one has advanced that claim in its title. Nevertheless, Professor Hitchcock's Architecture, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries is the first serious, balanced effort to chronicle the building of the last century and a half without indulging in polemic or special pleading. Not only is the oncemaligned nineteenth century objectively surveyed for the first time, but the architecture of our own day is dispassionately set in order with sensitivity and genuine historical instinct. Even without taking account of the inherently controversial nature of the subject itself, this volume is one of the most distinguished of the Pelican History of Art series,

Like most of the series, Professor Hitchcock's book is no sweetened introductory survey, but instead a terse résumé, as rich in information as the format will allow. It is also very much a personal work, reflecting, through its objectivity, the author's formidable powers of observation and assimilation. Although not primarily an interpretive study (none of the Pelican series is, for that matter), the major questions of subdivision that had to be solved in the organization of the text imply a considerable amount of subjective judgment. In general the distribution and overall outline is eminently workable, some divisions being made on a chronological and geographical basis, others upon genres.

In the reviewer's opinion, the portions of the book dealing with the twentieth century are far and away the most compelling in their organization and engrossing in their presentation. The very nature of the nineteenth century's architectural production probably will never lend itself to altogether felicitous groupings. The period as a whole was much too involved with seeking, with discovery and experimentation: with nervous abandon it ferreted out both the old and the new, and with the same febrility it often quickly rejected its achievements. As a scholarly problem in style history,

<sup>1.</sup> J. Vogt, Geschichte Preussens, 1827-1839, IV, p. 488; V, pp. 60, 125, 151, 164, 204, 541, etc.

<sup>1.</sup> Bruno Zevi, Storia dell'architettura moderna, Turin, 1950.

the nineteenth century affords as many taxing difficulties as does that century of European architecture preceding the birth of the Gothic in 1140-1144. In both periods contradictory tendencies and multiple threads of development seem to preclude the establishment of significant art-historical patterns on a broad front.

Given the trying nature of the problem, Professor Hitchcock has not had recourse to clamorous labels or vaporous concepts, but instead has accomplished his organizational task with restraint, almost with selfeffacement. As a result, the first third of the book, seven chapters on the period 1800-1850, will perhaps be too much of a grisaille for some readers. I suspect that at least a part of the author's discomfiture here is a result of being required to launch his text at the full flood of Romantic Classicism (i.e. 1800), rather than at its proper beginning, a half century earlier. An eightpage introduction covering the period 1750-1790, even when as superbly done as it is here, leaves the author little opportunity to place his opening figures, Soane, Wyatt, Nash, etc., in their real context. After all, these architects whose careers open the nineteenth century were not pioneers breaking fresh ground but second generation exploiters of a vigorous revolutionary

Added to the occasional pallor of the text is the fact that there are no subheadings to clarify the internal organization, and the reader is often hard put to it to find his way through the dense fabric of information. The treatment tends to topicality and consequently individual architects are not always dealt with as entities. For example, Soane is treated extensively both in Chapter I, "Romantic Classicism Around 1800," and Chapter IV, "Great Britain," with the result that fifty pages (and a good deal of markedly post-Soanian building) separates the Bank of England's Tivoli Corner of 1804-1806 on page 2 from the Dulwich Gallery of 1811-1814 on page 60. In between, the reader has been treated to a thorough consideration of French and German developments, just to mention the major areas of activity. Klenze, Gärtner, Schinkel (nearly eight consecutive pages) and early Semper; Godde, Hittorff, Labrouste, and innumerable faceless architects, French, Italian, Russian, Scandinavian, even Greek and Hungarian; all of this material is interjected between middle and late Soane (interjected, that is, if England is the point of reference). The detail is almost inevitably staggering, and, like most other volumes in the Pelican series, consecutive reading of a chapter is fatiguing. Still, a considerable purpose is served by such compression, especially in a field where, heretofore, marginal developments often have been confused for major pace-setting trends. Thoroughness and exhaustiveness is a positive virtue where there is not always unanimity concerning the significant and the insignificant. Nowhere else will the reader discover an equal

body of information on these subjects fitted together in such compact form. The sobriety<sup>2</sup> of most of the presentation is going to make this a very durable reference volume, even though that same sobriety, by a process of inversion, occasionally seems almost to parody itself (e.g., the last two lines of page 38).

Of the early chapters, the second, "The Doctrine of J.-N.-L. Durand and its Application in Northern Europe," succeeds best from a technical point of view, despite its awkward and not quite exact title. What Professor Hitchcock has in mind here is Durand's formal inventions and combinations, not his "rationalist" theory, and he traces these motifs as found in Germanic lands, especially the characteristic Teutonic variant of the Durandesque, the Rundbogenstil. From time to time this theme tends to vanish in the denseness of the narrative. After a discussion of the Munich architects Klenze and Gärtner, which is kept within the proposed theme, there follows an extended treatment of Schinkel which takes up more than a third of the entire chapter. On the basis of emphasis alone this puts the thematic discussion (of Durand's influences) out of gear. Furthermore, given the chameleon-like eclecticism of Schinkel, often romantic, sometimes utilitarian, and the high degree of interest that his forms and compositions generate on their own terms alone, it is clear that for the remainder of the chapter Durand can no longer be a primary subject, but simply an incidental influence which draws together the remaining bits and pieces of

Similar organizational problems are to be encountered elsewhere. However, I am inclined to think that a loosely-chained narrative is, in this case, more apt than one that is overly bound and secured to a particular point of view; this even at the expense of complete topical or thematic consistency. Perhaps clarity could have been gained by paying greater attention to major individual personalities than has been done. While Durand has been made the subject of a chapter (nominally at least), and Schinkel given a unified and distinct body of the text to himself, equally consequential architects, Soane and Nash in particular, are broken up. Later, past the mid-century, a similar treatment of Viollet-le-Duc, who pops up time after time in varying contexts, is eminently appropriate to this sometimes mercurial yet inevitably unstable personality, but this is an exceptional case.

There are occasional passages in the text where the material seems to fly out of control. However, the third chapter, "France and the Rest of the Continent," which follows and supplements the one on Durand discussed above, is the only sustained instance of unresolved organization. It is very possible that French architecture in the period between the two Napoleons is formless in its historical development, nerveless in its expressive character, and rarely more than mediocre in its individual accomplishments. Professor Hitchcock is

over-all achievement of the author of giving the semblance not only of nonpartisanship, but the illusion of historical "distance" in the very taxing problem of writing contemporary and near-contemporary history.

<sup>2.</sup> Professor Hitchcock's matter-of-fact objectivity is so conspicuous that it tends to set in high relief a small number of petulant value judgments rendered against certain individual architects. These minor outbursts only go to underscore the

not uninterested in this aspect of early nineteenth century building. Indeed, while recognizing the period's paradoxical dullness in architectural production, he is able to see the significance of its barren institutional architecture, prisons, hospitals, asylums, etc., and its origin, not just in Durand's plates, but also in the social preoccupations of the earlier, more flamboyant Romantic Classic generation of Ledoux (page 49). However, these telling observations are smothered in the text rather than used to lead and organize it, and unfortunately they will be found only by the most diligent reader.

The succeeding chapter (the fourth), covering the same period in Great Britain, is smoother in development and more profound in its stylistic observations. Here a series of distinct personalities from Soane and Nash to Barry and C. R. Cockerell emerge to color the narrative and make it more memorable. One can't help feeling that the previous chapter would have benefited had architects like Hittorff, Lebas, Duban, and the young Henri Labrouste been more clearly singled out. However, while English architects achieve distinction through executed works, the French practitioners are given more to bureaucratic duties and theoretical argument (viz. the Academy) than to actual designing. The important events in French architecture often take the form of manifestoes, controversies, or intrigues rather than of actual buildings. These matters related to the problems of architectural theory are usually avoided by Professor Hitchcock, and rightly, as their inclusion would have unduly lengthened his text without adding commensurately to its value.

After a thorough chapter on Romantic Classic architecture in "The New World," the first section is rounded out with two specialized chapters, "The Picturesque and the Gothic Revival" and "Building with Iron and Glass: 1790-1855." In his introductory remarks to the Picturesque, the author moves with caution to the matter of its congruence with Romantic Classicism, and its role as a "solvent" (the word, a most telling one, is the author's) in the breakdown and reorientation of style that takes place towards the midcentury. Here it would seem that reticence and a hesitation to enter into a lengthy airing of theories and interpretations is a wise decision. A similar approach in the evaluation of Pugin appears in the subsequent pages, where Professor Hitchcock gives us a most accurate delineation of this early Victorian artist. It is a picture which grows out of a carefully observed study of his buildings, instead of the enticing but fuzzy image that so easily results from the customary misreading of Pugin's texts in the light of twentieth century rationalism rather than of nineteenth century materialistic pietism. Consequently we see him as a reflection of Early Victorian art as well as its spirited critic.

As for the treatment of early iron structures in a section apart, it is in this instance a useful and convenient device, though in principle the integration of these buildings with their more "conventional" contemporaries could be more revealing, especially in terms of the way they share in and contribute to general, overall stylistic developments. However, Professor Hitchcock's way is a useful means of bringing the first section to a close, while at the same time anticipating Part Two, which covers the second half of the century. While this discussion of metal in architecture is not in itself a means to a review or recapitulation of what has gone before, it nevertheless has a way of demanding the reader to do just that on his own, inasmuch as the subject requires a reconsideration of even the heroic period of Romantic Classicism that was so briefly surveyed in the Introduction, as well as a return to such picturesque "monuments" as Nash's Brighton Pavilion and Schinkel's Kreuzberg War Memorial. Of special interest in this section is the subtle relationship adduced between the early nineteenth century metal and glass galeries and passages of shops in Paris and the later department stores of the 1880's and 1890's, and the commercial nature of these programs linking this building type with English and American building structures. Although this chapter is a scant fifteen pages, it is remarkably thorough in covering the various applications

A discussion of the great metal structures of the 1850's leads directly and logically to the "high" styles of the third quarter of the century, the Second Empire and the Victorian. "Part Two: 1850-1900" opens with two solid chapters on the Second Empire Style in which its sources and its immediate international distribution are clearly set forth at the outset. The vigor and control of the text from this point forward is in contrast to some of the tentativeness of the earlier chapters, and it is manifest that the author is now as much in command of his presentation as he is, inevitably, of his subject matter. His analysis of the multitudinous aspects of Parisian and Paris-inspired architecture in this period is sensitive and often brilliant, although occasionally marred by a slightly negative undercurrent, as, for example, when Vaudremer's Saint-Pierre-de-Montrouge is singled out as the "only big Paris church of the sixties of much real distinction" (page 142). Fortunately there is very little of such caviling. My chief objections here are in connection with Professor Hitchcock's occasional (and sometimes surprising) snipes at the more lavish works in an Imperial Style, e.g. the Victor Emmanuel II Monument in Rome or the palatial residences of Ludwig II of Bavaria.

3. On pages 43 and 48 reference is made to the achievements in painting and literature by the Romantic generation. Clearly there is nothing in the architecture of the 1820's or 1830's to rival the intensity of feeling, let alone the quality, of Berlioz, Hugo, or Delacroix.

4. Nevertheless the "controversy" provoked by Labrouste's "discovery" of polychromy at Paestum in 1828, or the hulla-

baloo kicked up by the Academy's effort to secure a bill of attainder against the Gothic and its revival in 1846 might justifiably have been given some prominence in the narrative at this point to show how much France's architectural energy was, then as now, depleted through ludicrous theorizing and academic posturing.

Understandably, his real admiration is reserved for the High Victorian Gothic, the Anglo-Saxon counterpart of the Imperial Style. Nevertheless, this attachment is revealed in the discrimination with which the valuable and the important is separated from the pedestrian and the routine, never by the simple device of panegyric. Whatever the superficial attractions of the boisterous and clamorous Victorians, such as S. S. Teulon, the author inevitably underscores the importance of the more restrained, stolid designers like J. L. Pearson, Henry Clutton, and the young Richard Norman Shaw. The heroes of High Victorian Architecture, Street, Burges, Godwin, Gilbert Scott and the incomparable Butterfield, naturally receive their share of attention. Again, it is perhaps regrettable that something more was not made of each one on an individual basis, for, as the text stands, they, some of the most "individual" talents of any period, tend to recede into a generalized and undifferentiated Victorianism. The sequel to this discussion, Chapter XI, "Later Neo-Gothic Outside England," carries the Victorian story across the Atlantic, wisely including the not yet Romanesque-minded Richardson, and then sums up mediaevalizing architecture on the continent, thus finishing up a topic begun in Chapter vi, "The Picturesque." Again, looking ahead, the author introduces Antoni Gaudí in this revival context, thus providing a solid historical link between the avant-garde of the 1870's and that better known one of the 1890's. At the end of Chapter XI there is a lucid summary of the achievements of the third quarter of the century (pages 204-205).

Chapters XII and XIII are built around individual careers, Richard Norman Shaw on the one hand, Henry Hobson Richardson (with a postlude for Mc-Kim, Mead, and White) on the other. Both have been introduced in the High Victorian chapters, but now they are shown as the dominant figures of the Later Victorian period. Professor Hitchcock may be taken to task by other reviewers for abruptly abandoning "objectivity" at this point for the sake of colorful personalities. Yet my own reaction is that this preoccupation with individual architects should have begun earlier. Soane, Schinkel, and Butterfield are one and all the peers of Richardson in quality, equally deserving

to be headlined.

Following Chapter XIII, in which the chronological narrative has been carried down to the Chicago Columbian Exposition of 1893, are two topical chapters: "The Rise of Commercial Architecture in England and America" and "The Development of the Detached House in England and America from 1800 to 1900." At first this method of organization seemed

to offer more defects than advantages, but after a second reading its virtues, even at the expense of absolute continuity, appeared considerable. The discussion of commercial architecture naturally grows out of the earlier chapter (VII) on metal structure, which itself was a topic set aside from the main body of the text. In fact, those two chapters, emphasizing technological achievements, together contain nearly all the material that earlier historians of nineteenth century architecture like Giedion have been willing to consider as worthy and significant. With this reference in mind one can appreciate the magnitude of Professor Hitchcock's achievement. The chapter on the detached house provides another opportunity for a review of the picturesque modes, but its great emphasis is upon the second half of the century, and just as the previous chapter on commercial architecture had featured the work of Louis Sullivan, so the present one culminates in the work (to 1900) of Frank Lloyd Wright and his contemporaries, Voysey, Lutyens, Baillie Scott, and Ashbee. In this fashion the final chapter of Part Two provides a useful series of links between the past and the present, and admirably ties together movements and figures whose contacts and congruences might otherwise go unobserved in a survey.

In "Part Three: 1890-1957" two chapters are given to the Art Nouveau, one built around Horta, the other around Mackintosh and Gaudí, thus implying a somewhat wider definition for this movement than is often imputed by certain specialists, but one that I find especially sensible.5 There are matters of detail here that are perhaps questionable—it seems most unlikely that ten years from now anyone will consider Gaudi's Sagrada Familia as "perhaps the greatest ecclesiastical monument of the last hundred years"-but the spirited text and the insights with which it is filled makes it unsurpassed as an analysis of this fragile epoch. Regrettably, the author almost automatically makes the by now ritualistic claim that the Art Nouveau was not "primarily an architectural mode" (page 284). However, everything that follows in the text belies this attitude by its seriousness and thoroughness. True, Henri van de Velde is barely mentioned, yet in view of certain authors' tendencies to misrepresent his role in the development of the Art Nouveau, this negligence is refreshing.7 Along with a too-great fondness for Gaudí, this is the only error of emphasis in the otherwise admirable presentation. On a matter of detail, the plan of Horta's Aubecq house (fig. 34, page 290), based upon intersecting diagonal axes, not only looks forward to Wright, but also looks back to similar if less developed concepts in the work of Hector Horeau (his

5. It is interesting to compare Professor Hitchcock's views of the Art Nouveau today with those of thirty years ago, which are to be found in his *Modern Architecture*, *Romanticism and Reintegration*, New York, 1929, especially page 84.

sum up the qualities and characteristics of post-Victorian ecclesiastical architecture, and that their similarities are as significant as their more obvious differences.

<sup>6.</sup> In this same passage (page 302) the author criticizes Sir Giles Gilbert Scott's Liverpool Cathedral as lacking "both vitality and originality of expression, if not nobility of scale." Whatever one's personal views may be, there can be no doubt that when taken together these two monuments thoroughly

<sup>7.</sup> It must be admitted that in his Modern Architecture of 1929, the author gives Van de Velde credit for bringing the Art Nouveau to France and Germany, while at the same time making no mention of Horta. It is only fair to say that Professor Hitchcock's present view of Van de Velde understandably represents the pendulum's swing in the opposite direction.

Regent's Park house, London, ca. 1859) and Violletle-Duc (his design for a large town house, plate 33 of the *Entretiens sur l'Architecture*, II, 1872).

The remainder of the book is concerned with twentieth century architecture, which the author divides into three overlapping generations of achievement. Four chapters are given to the first generation, i.e., those born in the 1860's: one to Perret and Tony Garnier, a second to Wright, the third to Behrens and his German contemporaries, and lastly a chapter on first generation architects in Austria, Holland, and Scandinavia. It is a period to which Professor Hitchcock is especially well attuned, and the presentation very naturally gains commensurately in depth of perception. The work of the second generation, that of the International Style is, remarkably enough, handled in two chapters, that is, half the space devoted to its predecessor. It was, of course, a moment dominated by a restricted number of powerful personalities, and its significant activity was concentrated in the hands of these few, whereas the first generation was superficially more productive in terms of creative individuals and the variety of ideas that they produced. This coalescence of architectural activity into closely bounded and limited channels during the 1920's was, of course, what brought the International Style into being and made it so immediately recognizable. It is therefore all the more regrettable that Professor Hitchcock refrains from using this term, substituting instead the neutral phrase, new architecture (without capitalization or quotation marks). As a term, International Style may not be literally exact, but it has become a useful convention, one which the author himself is largely responsible for, and to reject it now, nearly two decades later, is almost to imply that he no longer believes in the tightly-knit unity that he once saw in this period. Yet the more one reflects on this heroic decade of the 1920's, the more it seems to resemble, historically, the neck of an hourglass, with the broader, more varying past flowing into its confines, and the present (i.e., the 1940's and 1950's) opening out from it.

As for the detailed content of these chapters on the International Style, there is much in the way of interpretation that is provocative and challenging, along with the rich tapestry of fact. Although I disagree with the author in a number of important matters (one instance being his tendency to see a lack of consistency between early, middle, and recent Le Corbusier), the analytic commentary never intrudes itself at the expense of a straightforward and objective description of the period's evolution and development. The only point at which the interests of historical continuity have been done a disservice is in Chapter xxiv, "Architecture Called Traditional in the Twentieth Century." Here the thematic concept as well as the phraseology of the title simply do not function. Coming as it does, on the

heels of the chapters on the Second Generation, it is badly out of place, even as a reminder that the leaders of the 1920's, Gropius, Oud, Mies van der Rohe, and Le Corbusier, were to a large degree isolated by their times into what must have seemed to the casual contemporary observer as little more than a lunatic fringe. Much of what is here presented as traditional is related either to late nineteenth century academic work, or to the academicizing aspects of Wright, Perret, and Behrens, and would have gained in pertinence by being included in a less isolated context.<sup>8</sup>

Chapter xxv, the last, "Architecture in the Nineteenfifties" is satisfactory but nowhere nearly so thorough as it ought to have been, given the scope of what has gone before. I do not think that the author was deliberately trying to end with an anticlimax, despite his refusal to generalize and provide a formal "conclusion" on the final page, and his faintly invidious apology for the great masters of the nineteenth century (which was quite unnecessary). As a survey of recent architecture, this culminating chapter is not quite complete. Architects of stature like Louis Kahn, Hartwell Hamilton Harris, and Peter Smithson are not mentioned. An elderly figure, Pierluigi Nervi, and a brilliant younger architect, Paul Rudolph, are mentioned so slightly as not really to receive proper identification. Of some of the contributors to the new art of structure, Samuely, Le Ricolais, Nowicki, there is no mention. On the other hand, there seems to be little or nothing of the inconsequential included at this point.

The choice of illustrations in a volume such as this is of great importance. By and large, the selection is superb, though an increase in number by one-fourth would have been very desirable, even if it brought an increase in price. Some of the comparisons that are produced between the left- and right-hand pages are particularly good in establishing implicit stylistic comparisons. The following have especially caught my attention: Lefuel's Louvre and Labrouste's Bibliothèque Nationale (plates 68-69), Street's American Church, Rome, and Cuijper's Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (plates 100-101), Richardson's Crane Library, Quincy, and McKim's Boston Public Library (plates 110-111), Richardson's Marshall Field Warehouse, Sullivan's Auditorium, and Jenney's Sears, Roebuck (Leiter) Building (plates 116-117), Mies van der Rohe's Lake Shore Apartments, Chicago, and the Ministry of Education and Health, Rio de Janeiro (plates 170-171), Henry Bacon's Lincoln Memorial and Sir Edwin Lutyens' Government House, New Delhi (plates 180-181). The inclusion of the following is a waste of precious space and might have been dispensed with: the Schottenhof, Vienna (plate 17B), Amherst College Dormitories and Chapel (plate 45), the Itamaratí Palace, Rio de Janeiro (plate 47B), Schloss Schwerin (plate 57B), St. John's Cathedral, Brisbane (plate

flict between modernist and traditionalist, is used to show the problems of reception that the new International Style encountered. It is instructive to compare this rejection of modernism in 1927-1928 with its acceptance, grimly vulgarized, to be sure, in the name of the United Nations in 1950.

<sup>8.</sup> The matter of radical avant-garde architecture in conflict with entrenched "conservative" modes is much better handled in the *Modern Architecture* of 1929. See Chapter 13, "Towards a New Architecture" (sic), pages 153-162, where the League of Nations competition, with its conspicuous con-

97B), Richardson's Cheney Block, Hartford (plate 116A), the Attleborough High School (plate 168B), the night view of the Stockholm Town Hall (plate 174A), Aarhus University (plate 185) and the Edificio Polar, Caracas (plate 192). Were these to be eliminated for a second edition, the following might usefully be added: another Ledoux project, Speeth's Frauenzuchthaus in Würzburg, extra views of the Barcelona Pavilion and the Villa Savoye (if the Casa Milá receives two illustrations, so should these), a recent work by Alvar Aalto, a Nervi interior, the Exhibition Hall at Raleigh (not mentioned in the text), a work of Paul Rudolph, and an urban scheme by Le Corbusier, preferably the early one for Algiers.

I earnestly hope that Professor Hitchcock will be afforded the opportunity to make revisions for a second edition. In a review of this kind, it has not seemed appropriate to single out the factual and typographical slips; however, the author has informed me that readers have already forwarded some comments of this nature to him. That errors exist may be a matter of embarrassment to the author, but they are also inevitable. In this case they do not mar the total value of his immense contribution.

We are in effect told at the beginning of the book that the text was written in the space of a year's time. Yet anyone who peruses its pages will rapidly become aware that this is only a fraction of the matter. Some three decades of devoted study have gone into its making; without that effort and experience it could never have existed in its present form. We are indeed very fortunate to have this remarkable and unique volume.

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A. W. LAWRENCE, Greek Architecture, Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1957. Pp. 327; 4 maps; 2 diagrams; 288 figs.; 152 plates. \$12.50. (Pelican History of Art)

The admirable selection of pictures in the half-tone plates, together with the many clear line drawings that furnish the figures, alone would make this volume useful. The text is well organized, well written, and easy to follow. There is no pretense of going into minute detail or archaeological controversy, and the avowed purpose of the work is to give a good, selective, factual survey of the subject. As is his privilege, the author indulges from time to time in subjective interpretations that will not meet with universal agreement. The first quarter of the book is devoted to pre-Hellenic architecture. Then primitive buildings following the Bronze Age, the rise of the Doric and Ionic styles, fourth century architecture and the Hellenistic period are considered in succession. Public works, domestic architecture, city planning and fortifications are well represented. The latter are especially welcome. Only in the brief epilogue, however, is some notice taken

of the people themselves, and there is but a very slender framework of history to which the progress of the art may be related.

Were the book free from a number of demonstrable factual errors it would have far more worth. To list all would be invidious, but a few samples should suffice to warn the reader not to take every statement at face value. On p. xxxi, for instance, a drawing showing the order of the Ionic Temple on the Ilissus gives its date as 484 B.C. This is usually dated not before 450, and the early date is quite impossible. It is suggested (p. 149) that the cella of the temple of Zeus at Olympia was built a generation later than the peristyle since the Phidian Zeus must date from 450. Aside from whether one accepts this date for the statue it has been amply shown that while the cella was remodeled at the time the statue was erected, there is no reason for making the construction of the walls of the cella later than the colonnade. The gilt bronze shields placed in the metopes by Mummius are said to occupy 21 out of a total of 36 metopes. But in a hexastyle building, with thirteen columns on a side, there were a total of no less than 72 metopes. The error is clearly from neglecting the fact that there were two metopes over each intercolumniation. In discussing the orientation of the Temple of Athena Nike at Athens (pp. 162-163) the author states that "the sides point toward the Parthenon, thereby bringing the whole entrance to the Acropolis into relation with the main building upon its surface." It is hard to see how, save in a plan or in some intuitive manner, this is relevant. The cyclopean wall towering as high as the roof of the southwest wing of the Propylaea made it impossible to see the Parthenon from the Nike Bastion, and if, as is generally maintained, it had been slated for demolition, its place would have been taken by the completion of the southwest wing, which would equally well have masked the Parthenon. This is nothing but "paper architecture," in which the Greeks do not seem to have indulged. The half inch drafting at the foot of each step of the Athena Nike temple is explained as a means of giving more room for the feet. It is hard to see that this would have had any noticeable effect, and it is far better to explain the drafting as a feature left over from the practice of leaving a projecting surface on the face of the step while construction was going on. The Greek architect may well have sensed the definition value of such a drafting and retained it as a part of the finished design. To say (p. 164) that the parapet erected around the top of the bastion had richly carved figures on the "inward face" is entirely contrary to fact. The carvings faced outward. There is some allowance to be made, when speaking of the South Porch of the Erechtheum, for the statement that the caryatids stood on a parapet as tall as themselves (actually this is true only if one takes into account the three steps at the base) through which there was no doorway. In fact, while there is none on the main façade of the porch, there is an opening, clearly shown on fig. 96, in the east return. But then we read (on p. 166), "The only doorway to the south porch leads down (reviewer's italics) from steps in the central block...." Actually there was a flight of steps leading up from the western chamber of the main

building to the level of the porch floor.

In the chapter of refinements is the astonishing statement (p. 172) that the capitals, architraves, and ceiling beams of the Greek temples might be red all over. Certainly we know that red was used on the necking grooves and the annuli at the base of the echinus of the Doric order, but nowhere else on the capital. Red also appears on the taenia and regulae of the architraves, but never, to my knowledge, on the whole beam. Anta capitals, we are told, slant out while the antae slant in. This is true for the outer edge of the anta, but it tells only half the story since a glance at Penrose, Principles of Athenian Architecture, pls. 16 and 30, shows that in the Parthenon and the Propylaea the faces of the antae slant forward. The reference to the speaker's platform cut for the Pnyx (p. 280) is confusing, since one naturally thinks of the rock-cut platform of the later period, after the direction in which the speaker and audience faced had been reversed. A word more of explanation based on Dinsmoor (The Architecture of Ancient Greece, p. 119), or the publication by Thompson and Kourouniotis in Hesperia I, 1932, would have made things clearer.

On the subjective side, there is a suggestion on page 112 that the author admits may be fanciful. It is to the effect that the narrow corridor of the Nile Valley between cliffs suggested the Egyptian processional plan of their temples; that the interminable empty plains of Mesopotamia seem to be equated with the spacious, unobstructed courts of their temples; and that the Greeks, who lived in flat-bottomed valleys enclosed by mountains, had on the interior of their temples a constricted patch of floor surrounded by disconcertingly lofty walls. The idea borders on fantasy rather than merely on fancy. The Monument of Lysicrates (p. 187) is dubbed a "Folly" and its whimsicality explained by the fact that it was not intended for practical use. But a use it certainly had, to display the tripod won for a Choragic victory, and whether, as the author says, it may be legitimately described as "Baroque" depends on one's understanding of the term.

The restored plan of the Hereum at Samos (fig. 77) has a column left out of the drawing; and fig. 137, which is labeled "Restored plan of house, Olynthus" is actually a different drawing of the plan of the palace at Larisa shown on fig. 138. There is a good selective bibliography and a serviceable index. Typographical errors are conspicuous by their absence, but in the table of abbreviations, near the beginning, it may be noted

1. Katalog der Gemälde alter Meister in der Niedersächsischen Landesgalerie Hannover. Bearbeitet von Gert von der Osten (Kataloge der Niedersächsischen Landesgalerie, heraus-

gegeben von F. Stuttmann), Hannover, 1954.

that two Greek archaeological periodicals are listed with three errors in breathing and two in accents.

It may be hoped that a second edition will eliminate the errors noted above, as well as a number of others not enumerated. The book contains much valuable material, and can supply a much-needed text. In its present form, however, it must be read with caution.

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Katalog der Bildwerke in der Niedersächsischen Landesgalerie Hannover, bearbeitet von Gert von der Osten. (Kataloge der Niedersächsischen Landesgalerie, herausgegeben von F. Stuttmann, II), Munich, 1957. Pp. 327; 403 figs. DM 42.00.

The Landesgalerie Hannover, which is under the direction of Ferdinand Stuttmann, has one of the finest records among German museums in regard to scholarly publication of its total present holdings. The Niedersächsische Landesgalerie, as the museum of art of the State of Lower Saxony is named today, was known as the Museum für Kunst und Landesgeschichte of the Provinzial-Museum when the City of Hannover was the capital of the Province of Hannover in the State of Prussia. The Provinzial-Museum became later the Landesmuseum, which in its building at the Maschpark embraces still, as did the Provinzial-Museum, both art collections and natural science collections. The title Niedersächsische-Landesgalerie was chosen as a less cumbersome title for the art collections of the Landesmuseum. The term gallery, primarily used for a gallery of paintings, may be considered a pars pro toto, since sculpture in this collection has equal rank with painting.

To sculpture is devoted the exemplary, fully-illustrated catalogue here announced. It was preceded in 1954 by a catalogue of the paintings of old masters<sup>1</sup>—the text volume with a volume of illustrations still to come—and lists of the art works after 1800.<sup>2</sup> The author of this whole sequence of publications is Dr. Gert von der Osten, whose history of the types of the Man of Sorrows in sculpture is a basic contribution to iconology<sup>8</sup> and whose work (with F. Stuttmann) on the sculpture of Lower Saxony in the late Middle Ages<sup>4</sup> laid the much needed foundation for the history of late Gothic sculpture of this region and therefore for an important section of the catalogue here discussed.

This catalogue contains among its total of 498 works a large majority of works of the region of Lower Saxony, although it expands not only into other Low Ger-

quite extensive lists still are the only complete printed record.

3. Gert von der Osten, Der Schmerzensmann, Typengeschichte eines deutschen Andachtsbildwerkes von 1300 bis 1600 (Forschungen zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte, herausgegeben vom Deutschen Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, VII), Berlin,

4. Ferdinand Stuttmann und Gert von der Osten, Niedersächsische Bildschnitzerkunst des späten Mittelalters, Berlin,

1940.

<sup>2.</sup> Verzeichnis der Kunstwerke nach 1800 im Landesmuseum Hannover, Hannover, 1950. Kunstwerke nach 1800, Landesgalerie Hannover, Nachtrag, Hannover, 1954. Both lists were edited by Gert von der Osten. They contained paintings and sculpture. The sculpture is now being fully catalogued in the volume here announced, whereas for modern painting these

man regions but also into South Germany (22 works), and even more into the Netherlandish and Belgian regions (35 works). The catalogue of the collection had originally been composed by Dr. Herbert von Einem, now professor at the University of Bonn. Finished in 1931, it never went into print, but became in manuscript form the foundation on which von der Osten built, although often von Einem's results had to give way to revised dates and attributions on the basis of new research, partially von der Osten's own. Owing mostly to a systematic redistribution of Hannover's total, very considerable art collections between the Kestner-Museum and the Landesmuseum, the content of the Landesmuseum's sculpture collection grew to twice the size that von Einem had catalogued. Part of this growth is due to the vigorous acquisition policy of the "Städtische Galerie," the municipal art gallery, included since 1923 in the display of the state museum. In the years 1955 and 1956 alone, twenty important modern sculptures were acquired, largely with donations from industrial firms, for the Städtische Galerie,5 of which Dr. von der Osten is director in addition to his curatorial duties for the Landesmuseum. The municipal Kestner-Museum, which originally housed the Städtische Galerie of paintings and sculpture, now is totally devoted to ancient art, arts and crafts, and the graphic arts.

The new additions to the sculpture collection in the Landesmuseum resulted in the inclusion of the now rather important section of modern sculpture in the catalogue here discussed. This collection is of truly international scope, especially in its most recent section, from 1880 to the present. This section with its 88 items contains works by such major German artists as Hildebrand, Gaul, Barlach, Kolbe, Lehmbruck, Mataré, Sintenis, Marcks, Uhlmann, Hartung and Heiliger, but also works by artists from other European countries and the U.S.A., such as Degas, Rodin, Maillol and Laurens; Meunier and Minne; Marino Marini, Henry Moore, Archipenko, and Calder.

Interesting as this section is, the unique value of the catalogue lies in its mediaeval section, spanning the period from the Ottonian to the late Gothic of Riemenschneider and Veit Stoss. The earliest work in this mediaeval collection is the Crucifix from Nettlingen, previously thought to be from about 1200 but convincingly placed by von der Osten in the early eleventh century close to the famous Gero Crucifix in Cologne. In the twelfth century section von der Osten could assign the Romanesque Madonna from Nikolausbergwhich von Einem considered a Swedish work-to a Lower Saxonian workshop of about 1160/80 Works of the thirteenth century that have fame for iconographic reasons are the reliefs from the Pöhlde choir stalls containing a quite elaborate representation of the monastic workshop of a sculptor. Since the catalogue, as a matter of record, contains also works now divorced

from the collection, the famous Resurrected Christ from the abbey church of Wienhausen, in 1957 returned to the monastery, is included. This work had been in the museum for nearly 100 years. It entered between 1861 and 1863 into the Guelph Museum, which in 1955 became the property of the Landesmuseum, having been a depository up to this time.

From the Guelph Museum come many of the altarpieces of the Museum: the fourteenth century Hannoverian so-called "Passionsaltar"; the early fifteenth century Crucifixion altarpiece imported from the Netherlands; the altarpiece from the Marktkirche in Hannover (about 1480); and the prize piece of the group, the so-called "Goldene Tafel" from Lüneburg, about 1410/20, one of the most thoroughly investigated pieces of the collection, which recently has been connected by Paatz—as von der Osten points out—with altarpieces of Jacque de Baerze in Dijon. 6

Careful work has been done in this catalogue on works of the second half of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century assignable to individual sculptors. The names of Cord Borgentrik, Hinrick Stavoer, and Levin Storch, all three of Brunswick, and Benedict Dreyer of Lüneburg gain dimension. The most surprising work of the group is without doubt the Crucifixion from Rethen, where almost a Grünewald tone appears in the so often sober atmosphere of Lower Saxony. The identification of this master with Storch, whose work falls in the second quarter of the sixteenth century and contains also interesting reliefs in an early Renaissance style, was achieved only in 1950 by Otto von Boehn.

To the group of North Netherlandish works von der Osten attributes an important Anna Selbdritt of about 1500, which previously had been termed Westphalian. In the South Netherlandish group figures an altarpiece with scenes from the childhood of Christ of considerable quality, from the end of the fifteenth century.

Of South German works, the fragment of a statue of the Duchess Judith of Flanders from Weingarten has been attributed convincingly by Baum to Heinrich Yselin or his workshop.

Riemenschneider's four works, all acquired for the Guelph Museum, are listed among the South German works although Riemenschneider's birthplace was in the northern part of Germany. Von der Osten still gives his birthplace as Osterode in the Harz Mountains, whereas most recent research has made evident that he moved there early in his life with his family from Heiligenstadt, which now has to be considered his birthplace. For the statues from Gramschatz von der Osten accepts our opinion that the three figures, especially the Virgin, are largely carved by Riemenschneider's own hand, whereas Schrade had assumed them to be good works by pupils. Riemenschneider's own hand is also in evidence in the bust fragment of a

<sup>5.</sup> Cf. Gert von der Osten, Die Neuerwerbungen der Städtischen Galerie. Sonderdruck aus Hannoversche Geschichtsblätter, X, 1956, pp. 18-20.

<sup>6.</sup> Cf. W. Paatz, "Prolegomena zu einer Geschichte der deutschen spätgotischen Skulptur im 15. Jahrhundert" Abhand-

lungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.hist. Kl., 1956, 2, pp. 48f. This work by Paatz shows more clearly than any other work known to us the influences which worked on German sculpture of this period.

female saint, even more so since in 1952 this work was freed of a modern coat of paint. Von der Osten relates the figure rightly to female saints by Riemenschneider in Nuremberg, Würzburg (Marienkapelle), and in the Rosin Collection (which, however, is no longer in Berlin as von der Osten has it, but in New York).

The two reliefs from the Cuhlemann Collection that long have been attributed to Veit Stoss are cautiously listed under Veit Stoss and his workshop, following a recent appraisal by Lutze, whereas Theodor Müller terms them even more distant as "important school works, about 1520." The four-line biography of Stoss is a good example of the precise, effective way with which von der Osten transmits new information. He relates not only that Stoss was born in 1447/48 in Horb near Rottenburg in Suebia or in Horben, Aargau, but lists in full his source, a Polish publication by

Przbyszewski of 1952.

and terse writing.

Von der Osten reattributes two sculptures in American collections on the basis of their relation to sculptures in his collection. The group of "Emerentia selbviert" in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (no. 74985), labeled there as school of Augsburg, he reattributes to the Hildesheim Master of St. Urban. This group, containing Emerentia, Anne, the Virgin, and the Christ Child, is an iconographically rare motif, of which the Landesmuseum has also an example (no. 129). An apostle in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, called there English and dated about 1400, is identified by von der Osten as part of an altarpiece of the middle of the fourteenth century from the Johanniskirche zu Lüneburg. A bust of a saint is attributed to the Tyrolean sculptor Hans Waldburger on the basis of its relation to his altarpieces in Mondsee and Scheffau and his statue of St. Peter in the Museum of Art of the University of Kansas in Lawrence.

Von der Osten's catalogue is stripped of all dead weight: no formal descriptions since the reproductions—all from new photographs—make this unnecessary, and no color descriptions, which in most cases are useless if the objects are not before the reader; yet careful consideration of iconographic problems and the condition the works are in, and masterly résumés of the often highly complicated ways in which our present knowledge of a piece has evolved. To sum it up: this is a model of a good and useful catalogue which could well serve to guide others in their tasks by its well-thought-out plan

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KONRAD HÜSELER, Deutsche Fayencen: Ein Handbuch der Fabriken, ihrer Meister und Werke, Stuttgart, Anton Hiersemann, 1956-1958. I, 184 pp.; 273 figs.; 2 charts; II, 149 pp.; 227 figs.; III, 142 pp.; 70 figs.; Plates of Marks 1-67. I & II, DM 55.00 each; III, DM 60.00.

The first serious studies of German faïence were undertaken by the first director of the Hamburg Mu-

seum, Justus von Brinckmann, following his appointment in 1877. No published survey of the field appeared, however, until after World War I; then the deficiency was made up with two different works: August Stöhr's Deutsche Fayencen und deutsches Steingut, issued in the series "Bibliothek für Kunst- und Antiquitätensammler" in 1920; and Otto Riesebieter's Die Deutschen Fayencen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts, which came out in 1921.

Now Dr. Hüseler, the present director at Hamburg, has replaced these handbooks—in need of drastic revision in the light of four decades' research and publication—with a fitting monument to a life's work. If ever the words "definitive" or "exhaustive" were demanded by a book, they are in this case. Dr. Hüseler's work should prove of constant usefulness, not only in matters of connoisseurship but in those of more general art historical problems as well, to all scholars whose work touches upon this aspect of the eighteenth century.

The word Fayence is applied by Dr. Hüseler in its more limited sense. In its broader, and equally correct definition, faïence may be any tin-glazed earthenware pottery. It takes its name from Faenza, the best-known center of production of the Italian tin-glazed earthenware called majolica (after Majorca, which did not produce any of its own, but trans-shipped to Italy and elsewhere most of the tin-glazed Hispano-Moresque ware made in Valencia and other cities in Spain; this in turn was an imitation of Persian wares conceived in an effort to duplicate Chinese porcelain). The specialists' name for the derivative wares in the North of Europe (France, Germany, the Low Countries) is apt to be

also majolica.

Faïence, then, in its various spellings, is most apt to be applied not to the wares made in imitation of those of Faenza, but to a completely different type of pottery, whose fabrication began in the seventeenth century and reached a peak in the eighteenth. This is made of the same materials, but stylistically is based on the imitation of oriental porcelains, mostly blue-and-white, then being imported in quantity from the Far East. The effort to duplicate oriental wares led, of course, to the discovery of European porcelain itself, but in the meantime, and then concurrently with porcelain, the appearance if not the substance of oriental porcelain was imitated in the heavier and less dense matter of earthenware. (Once Europeans were making porcelain, the faïence factories turned to imitating these wares as well.)

The first center for producing such wares, appropriately enough, was the maritime country of Holland; they comprise what is called Delft, or Delft faïence. The first German factory, started at Hanau in 1661, was in fact founded by two Hollanders; and of course the whole Rhineland, comprising one of the three or four major centers of German ceramic production, had a certain cultural and industrial identity in the eighteenth century—as it does again today.

This brings up another point in terminology: the use of "German." Generally speaking, Hüseler takes this in its widest sense, covering the whole area from the Meuse on the west to the Vistula and to Esthonian Reval on the east; and from the Austrian border on the south to Schleswig on the north.

One such set of geographic-nationalist boundaries is as good as another. There is no distinctive "German" style to unite any large proportion of the factories in any case, yet some sort of segregation of the field of ceramics is necessary for the accomplishment of any detailed research at all. With rare exceptions, in fact, there is little distinctively German about most of this faïence: The early factories along the Rhine worked so close to the Delft tradition that their work is often confused with it; in the north, the products of Kiel, Schleswig, and their neighbors partake of the distinctive Scandinavian Rococo style. The most "German" wares are probably those produced at Nuremberg and Bayreuth in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, still very much in a Baroque tradition.

One questionable geographical point is the inclusion of Strasbourg-Haguenau and their offshoot, Niderviller. These Alsatian factories were of course with "Germany" in Brinckmann's day, and still in the period when Stöhr and Riesebieter were writing; but at the time of production, as for the past forty years, they were under French control (a fact which led to most of the Hannongs' difficulties, especially in the 1750's when Paul Anton was making porcelain in direct competition with the royal factory at Vincennes-Sèvres). Nor is there any personal or stylistic derivation from Germany: Carl Franz Hannong, the founder, was trained in the Rhineland but born in Maastricht; his early wares show more relation to the faïence of Rouen than to anywhere else, and the later Rococo wares of the 1740's are as much in debt to Chantilly as to Meissen-and in any case, who wasn't copying Meissen then? Strasbourg of course had a great influence on factories to the east; but so, at an earlier date, did Delft and the other Dutch factories. The inclusion of Strasbourg seems to us, on the premises of the book as a whole, most tenuous in its justification. (It might also be noted here that the map in Volume I increases the density of German occupation of Alsace by moving Nonnenweier and Dautenstein from the east to the west side of the Rhine; they belong in Baden.)

The chief justification for this inclusion of Strasbourg and its dependencies within the scope of Dr. Hüseler's book is the fact that it provides us with a comprehensive analysis of their wares along with the other material he covers so thoroughly. Perhaps we should only wish that he had extended the borders of his "Germany" further still!

The three volumes divide themselves roughly along the following lines: Volume I covers the wares from a technical point of view; Volume II discusses their aesthetics and stylistic analysis; Volume III is comprised, aside from additional afterthoughts, of lexicons and appendices that provide the fullest documentary compilation and the most thorough cross-referencing imaginable.

Part I, in Volume I, lists the 87 factories at which faïence is known to have been produced within the

period 1660-1810. No. 1 is Hanau, founded in 1661, and No. 87 is Itztehoe, which opened in 1802 and closed the following year. By the latter date, of course, the great period of the ware was long past. Each entry includes discussion of the history of the factory, wares produced, and masters active. A chart makes clear the intensity of interest within the periods of activity of the factories themselves: the first group of factories founded between 1660 and 1680, Hanau, Frankfurt (1666), Berlin (1678) and Kassel (1680); after a pause until near the end of the first decade of the new century, factories were opened at Braunschweig, Dresden, Strasbourg, Ansbach, Nuremberg, Bayreuth, and Erfurt within a span of less than ten years. Throughout the century, more and more factories were set up, some to prove ephemeral, others to run continuously to the present day. But by the 1770's, just after the peak of activity, many of the most important factories were closing, and in the latter part of the century and the first years of the next all but a handful banked their kilns. Only sixteen were still in operation by 1810, and most of these were closed by mid-nineteenth century.

The course of development of the wares, disparate as it may seem in many ways, follows a more or less consistent pattern, despite regional and other variations. The first factories, as we have remarked, were set up in imitation of and in competition with the Dutch, and produced Delft-derived copies of oriental wares. As the latter became more easy to acquire, more work was produced in direct imitation of these. The ultimate result of this copying was the production of German porcelain itself, and a number of these factories subsequently became, like Dresden, the homes of porcelain manufacture.

(It is to be hoped that all this talk of "copying" and "imitation" will not repel the reader unduly. Given the limitations of materials and techniques, not to mention the imperious demands of the market and its tastes, imitation is all but inevitable in a medium like pottery; perhaps more bad work than good has been produced in an effort to be original. And imitation is a two-way street; we have recently had the privilege of exhibiting a handsome Chinese Export tureen which is an unmistakable and remarkably faithful copy of a blue-and-white Strasbourg piece of the most Rococo type.)

The period from about 1715 to 1740 saw some of the best and most original of German faïence, particularly in Franconia. After the latter date, the pressure to make imitations of Meissen porcelain became simply too strong; from high-fired colors, the factories switched to low-fired enamels that gave an effect not dissimilar to that of porcelain itself. (As Hüseler explains, the term "Das Fayence-porcellain" was not employed by its makers in the delusion that they had come any closer to true porcelain than before, but merely to express the fact that they had duplicated something of its surface appearance.)

Beginning in the 1770's, the German factories faced a new element of competition in the creamwares and other inexpensive wares being turned out in quantity in England by Wedgwood and his fellows. Ever adaptable, the Germans turned to the imitation of this ware; but many factories went under. The fact is that by this time, growing industrialization throughout Europe was concentrating production into fewer and fewer large factories, and putting the small operators out of business.

Part II, "The Inner Workings of the Faïence Factories," covers matters such as materials, techniques and formulas; markets and prices; and the personnel themselves. Part III, "'Fayence,'" is more concerned with stylistic matters, discussing the problem of "Fayence-porcellain," mentioned above; the matter of Baroque versus Rococo styles in faïence; and the uses to which the wares were put and the consumers for whom they were designed. This, with some documentary appendices and an ample complement of fully annotated

plates, completes Volume 1.

According to Hüseler, the nature of the material made faïence particularly adaptable to Baroque expression, whereas the Rococo demanded the lighter and more delicate substance of porcelain. Still, when the market demanded, the faïence makers turned away from their "natural" Baroque manner to producing perfectly delightful works in a thoroughly Rococo idiom, not to be despised on moral grounds. His discussion of the conflicting influences of the market, with bourgeois demand for practical table-ware supplying a mass market, and the desire of the lesser aristocracy (out of the running for more costly porcelain) for "fine art" wares to show in their "cabinets" impelling toward higher technical and aesthetic advances, is perfectly apt to the situation with faïence, but scarcely exclusive to that material. The same can be said of the production of majolica, or of any of the other fine ceramic wares of Renaissance and post-Renaissance Europe—and probably of the Orient as well.

Volume II begins with Part v, "The Artistic Development of German Faïence in the 17th and 18th Centuries," a subject the discussion of which we have anticipated above. Matters covered include sources of models, and of painted motives, their migrations, questions of prototypes, unique pieces, and so forth. The section concludes with a "cross-section" of German faïence-making at two significant moments, in the late seventeenth century and at the middle of the eighteenth; and a "longitudinal section" which traces the handling of such distinctive and practical items as the inkstand or the lavabo or the tureen through the course of development covered by the factories as a group.

Part vI, "Individual Artists," discusses the careers and works of the following: J. M. Frantz, J. S. F. Tännich, J. P. Dannhöffer, J. K. Rib, A. Leihamer, S. H. Kirch, J. G. Fliegel, and the ubiquitous family von Löwenfinck. These are brief but illuminating essays, providing another type of Querschnitt, in view of the migratory habits of these men. A number of revisions and new attributions are suggested as the result of these detailed studies, some of which, such as the removal of a number of items of chinoiserie from A. F. von Löwenfinck and their award to Dannhöffer, may not be quite sufficiently solidly based to prevent continuing future controversy. In this section particularly,

Dr. Hüseler has drawn upon his own significant previously published essays in the specialized journals in the field.

Volume II, and the text proper, closes with Part VII, Miscellany, on matters of connoisseurship and detail, such as problems of dating, artistic rivalry among the workmen, and the collector's defenses against fakes. Volume III, aside from a few brief appendices on similar matters of connoisseurship, consists of reference tables: a biographical lexicon of every individual recorded to have had a connection with making German faïence; a critical bibliography, arranged by subject and then indexed according to authors; and of course a comprehensive table of all known marks, thoroughly

"bibliographed" and cross-indexed.

The 312 plates are divided among the three volumes, without much concern for propinquity to place of discussion in the text-by far the most convenient solution to the problem, since references inevitably recur in various chapters, given the type of organization for the work as a whole. Nor are the illustrations arranged in a simple chronological or geographical scheme, but rather to make the points of the text, as well as visual points of their own, comparing or contrasting the work of different factories or periods in similar forms, or decorative motives. The illustrations are of high quality, although necessarily varying with the degree of perfection of the original photographs. In Volume III, the index of the plates provides cross-references by factories, as well as page-references whereby discussion of individual illustrations may be located in the text; further indices of shapes and models, dated pieces, signed and monogrammed pieces and so forth are provided. It would be hard indeed to think of any way in which Dr. Hüseler's book has not been organized to enhance its usefulness to his intended reader, the collector-specialist.

In our country, specialists in this limited field are almost if not quite as rare as the whooping crane; but circulation of this work should not be limited by this fact. Every museum that collects European ceramics will need it on its shelves; all the more so because, given the largely imitative nature of German faïence, these wares have long had a tendency to be mistaken for others. No scholar of the eighteenth century can afford to overlook the mine of information here offered not only on artistic matters, but on historical and economic details as well. Finally, it offers a brilliant model of what such a survey should be, for maximum usefulness to all branches of the profession, to connoisseurs, art historians, cultural historians, or just humble curators. We wish for more of the same level, whether national or continental in scope.

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NINO CARBONERI, L'Architetto Francesco Gallo, 1672-1750, Atti della società piemontese d'archeologia e di belle arti, n.s., II, Turin, 1954. Pp. 228; 21 figs.; 98 pls.

Since Brinckmann's publication in 1931 of the Theatrum Novum Pedemontii, the Baroque architecture of the Piedmont in Italy has intrigued architectural historians, yet disappointingly there has been no extended study of this architecture or its creators. Of the three great architects, Guarini, Juvara, and Vittone, only Juvara has received adequate treatment, perhaps partly because of his wonderful stage designs and his activity at Rome. In addition to this outstanding triumvirate, there is a large group of interesting or good architects, such as Ascanio Vitozzi, Conte Carlo Castellamonte and his son Amedeo, Francesco Lanfranchi, Conte Benedetto Alfieri, Giovanni Battista Sacchetti, and Francesco Gallo. Now the publication of a monograph by Nino Carboneri offers us a very complete knowledge, at least factually and visually, of the work of one of these minor masters, Francesco Gallo.

Carboneri's monograph is oriented toward a presentation of all the factual material necessary for the biography of Gallo and the history of his buildings. Divided into three parts, the first part is primarily a biographical register, organized month by month, even day by day, drawn from many sources including state and local archives. It permits us to follow very closely his activity, both architectural and domestic, but reveals little about the personality of the man. The second part, entitled The Architect, is an analysis in many short chapters of the architectural development of Gallo in terms of his most significant buildings. The last part, which is the largest section of the book (pp. 81-203), is a chronological consideration of every work of architecture attributed to Gallo, but this catalogue contains only the historical data pertaining to each building. Finally a fine set of large plates offers a photographic study of his chief works, including a few drawings. Plans of most of these buildings are interspersed in the second part of the text. As a result, this book, which is beautifully printed, is a wonderful tool in terms of a complete documentation of one architect but makes only a very limited attempt to present architectural history as the activity of an architect in relation to other architects or to the social-religious milieu in which he builds.

Francesco Gallo is basically a good provincial architect. Almost all his architecture is located in the southwest corner of the Piedmont in the neighborhood of his native city of Mondovì. It is significant that there is attributed to Gallo only part of one building in the Piedmontese capital, Turin, which was controlled architecturally by his younger contemporary Juvara. Gallo's fame is dependent largely upon his having vaulted Vitozzi's incomplete Sanctuary of the Virgin of Mondovì at Vicoforte with a large elliptical dome, exceeded in size only by such circular domes as those of St. Peter's at Rome or the Duomo at Florence.

Gallo was an engineer, who presumably studied with the military engineer Antonio Bertola and served in 1693 in the war with France (very much like his more gifted German contemporary Lucas von Hildebrandt), but from the beginning of the eighteenth century he began to design architecture. Most of his architecture is religious and often on a small scale in terms of parish churches. Perhaps the most interesting feature of these churches is the plan. Although in some examples, such as those at Frabosa Soprana, Sanfrè, and Marene, he built a rectilinear, box-like basilica with side chapels, he was more intrigued with the possibilities of the Greek cross plan or a combination of Greek cross and basilica. The latter, as represented at Racconigi, Alice Castello, or San Filippo of Mondovì Breo, is created by widening and deepening into a cross transept the central side chapels or bays of a threebay basilica. The crossing in the center of the basilica is then capped by a dome, yet there remains the basically longitudinal axis of the basilica which is strengthened by a very deep sanctuary. There is, therefore, a certain spatial ambivalence, which is often augmented by the harsh rectilinearity of his interior elevations. In only a few examples does he use the oval or hint of an oval plan which might seem to be the natural solution for his desire to reconcile the central plan with the basilica. But one of these examples is his masterpiece, the church of the Confraternità di Santa Croce e di San Bernardino at Cavallermaggiore. Begun in 1737 after his visit to Rome in 1726, this church suggests some profit from observing Borromini's work at Rome but, at least on the façade, preserves the broken angularity inherent in most of Gallo's work. In another example, the façade of the church of the Confraternità della SS. Trinità at Fossano seems to be influenced slightly by Juvara's façade of Santa Cristina at Turin. This is understandable since Gallo had to submit two projected designs for Juvara's choice, but at Fossano there is a certain dry leanness typical of Gallo.

Gallo's greatest undertaking was the vaulting of the pilgrimage church of the Virgin of Mondovì at Vicoforte, where his engineering training and experience with fortifications may have aided him in creating the huge elliptical dome (about 109 by 79 feet in diameter). The church had been begun in 1596 on the designs of Vitozzi as a pantheon for the House of Savoy. Built at the location of a sacred image of the Virgin that had become a popular pilgrimage shrine from at least 1594, Duke Carlo Emanuele I conceived the new church as a shrine to his family where he, his relatives, and his ancestors, including Pope Felix V, would be buried, but in the end only the Duke himself was interred there, almost fifty years after his death. As planned by Vitozzi the great church was elliptical with six radiating lateral chapels, as well as sanctuary and narthex, so that it resembled an elliptical interpretation of the ancient Pantheon at Rome, although it may come more directly out of the oval tradition in Vignola and his follower Francesco da Volterra. By the time of his death in 1615 Vitozzi had raised the church through the first story, but for the next century

81 and 84-87.

<sup>1.</sup> W. Lotz, "Die ovalen Kirchenräume des Cinquecento," Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte, VII (1955), pp. 80-

the work dallied as open conflict developed between the people supported by their Bishop who claimed the holy site as their shrine and the Cistercian order charged by the Duke to oversee the completion of a Savoyard pantheon to replace the earlier ones of the Abbey of Haute Combe and the Church of Brou. The situation was resolved when Duke Vittorio Amedeo II in fulfillment of his vow at the siege of Turin commissioned Juvara to build the basilica at Superga as a new pantheon for his family. Superga in turn was replaced by the ancient Pantheon at Rome, when Savoy became the ruling house of Italy. With the abandonment of Vicoforte by the Dukes, the local people reasserted their interest in their shrine, employing their greatest native architect, Gallo, to complete the church. Vitozzi's dome, which was modeled in shape on Della Porta's version of the dome of Saint Peter's,2 but with the interior paneled decoration of Michelangelo's project,8 was rejected by Gallo in favor of a less external dome with a high attic loading and masking the lower portion of the dome. In the attic oval windows penetrating the lower part of the dome continue the expression of the external vertical wall begun in the drum. On the interior, however, these oval windows piercing the base of the dome and the numerous Palladian motive windows of the drum create a tremendously light, spacious vaulting which is enhanced by the illusionistic Assumption of the Virgin painted by Giuseppe Galli Bibiena, Galeotti, Biella, and Bortoloni as floating in clouds upward over the painted coffering. As a feat of engineering and as an interior space the dome of Vicoforte is justly famous. On the exterior, however, the dome as a result of its protruding buttresses and finicky scale is a disappointment that is not helped by the four corner belltowers as they were completed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Carboneri's monograph offers us, therefore, most of the necessary material for the study and understanding of Francesco Gallo's architecture. If we had its equivalent for many of the other Piedmontese architects a sensitive architectural historian could bring together a full and rich analysis of Baroque architecture in the whole region as one of the more exciting moments in the history of architecture.

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WILL GROHMANN, Kandinsky, New York, Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1958. Pp. 428; 924 pls. (41 in color); numerous text illustrations. \$17.50.

The publication of Will Grohmann's book on Kandinsky is an important event for all students of art who have been waiting for the first full-scale treatment of this relatively neglected master of twentieth century

painting. Professor Grohmann here brings to a culmination a life-long dedication to Kandinsky's art. Though this book does not possess the enthusiasm and freshness of his earlier studies of Kandinsky, it is superior to them in almost every other respect. Grohmann is sensitive to new points of view and recent cultural trends and is willing to change his mind on minor matters. He wisely postponed publication until he had had time to study the Münter bequest of 1957 to the city of Munich. Much of the Münter material has been included. This, when added to liberal quotation from Kandinsky's letters and to the abundance of illustrative material, makes for a major addition to our knowledge.

There is, however, another side to the coin. For both the specialist and the casual reader, Grohmann's book often obscures an understanding of Kandinsky. It exemplifies many serious defects of current books and reveals the shortcomings of Grohmann's methodology. To substantiate these charges I shall deal with matters

both large and small.

Grohmann divides Kandinsky's work into three periods: Munich (1908-1914); the Bauhaus (1922-1933); and Paris (1934-1944). This is as obvious as it is appropriate and promises well. The inequality of the treatment (108 pages for Munich, 50 pages for the Bauhaus, and 27 pages for Paris) suggests a vital point of view, a canny sense of dramatic presentation, or a candid assessment. But, disappointingly, it is the result of expediency and the author's uncertainties.

Consider the brief treatment of the Paris period. Grohmann is captivated with the mystique of the "late" period: as early as 1933 he was eager to compare Kandinsky's painting of the late Bauhaus period with the last quartets of Beethoven. Grohmann now writes: "The whole man radiates in the works of his last years. Kandinsky speaks out of the innermost depths of consciousness . . ." (p. 242), and "[The Paris canvases] are works of old age, but more in the sense of a last maturity than of last effort" (p. 227). Strange then, the brevity of this section, which must be due to the admitted difficulty of grouping the works of the period (p. 227), and the vague areas into which they thrust the author's mind: he says that one is obliged, when thinking of them, "to recall the Mongolian components in Kandinsky's ancestry" (p. 11). The only straightforward assessment in the chapter on the Paris period is anonymous: "The works of the Paris years have been described as expressing a superior synthesis . . . (p. 227).

Grohmann characterizes Kandinsky's three periods as Romanticism, Neoclassicism, and Baroque. Romanticism means intensity, freedom, passion, and storm and stress; Neoclassicism means the subordination of the emotions and expressive character, a change from his earlier subjectivity to objectivity, and a balance of in-

<sup>2.</sup> Ibid., pp. 82-84.
3. See Du Pérac engraving of 1569 (?) in C. de Tolnay, Michelangiolo, Florence, 1951, pl. 250.

<sup>1. &</sup>quot;L'art de Kandinsky," Kandinsky (Selection), XIV, p. 6.
2. It would seem the letter he received from Kandinsky speaking of romanticism (pp. 179f.) would have been sufficient warning to him against using it as a label for any single period.

tuition and knowledge; and Baroque means unreal colors, new forms, great inventiveness, and greater mystery. In spite of the truth contained in a few of these characterizations, one cannot help regretting the shopworn formulae. The vitality of Kandinsky's development, its relationship with past traditions, and its meaningful rapport with other twentieth century developments (from architecture to automobile design), can hardly be captured in late-Victorian historical

capsules.

Grohmann further fails to relate the main periods to their background and surroundings. Of course it is not possible to point out influences upon the early works before 1906 unless one investigates Russian painting around 1900 (especially that of Levitan and Iakunchikova),4 but the unwillingness to grant influence during two other key periods (1906/7 and 1918/21) verges on hero-worship. Indeed, Grohmann goes so far as to want to paint his portrait of Kandinsky against an almost blank background. He claims, for example, that "the restlessness and tragedy of the period (1940-1944) are not manifest in the paintings of these years. Similarly, during the First World War and during the Russian Revolution, Kandinsky's works did not reflect what was going on outside the studio" (p. 237). Elsewhere, Grohmann himself contradicts this notion of the "artist-in-a-bottle," for he tells us that Kandinsky responded to the zest of the Paris climate; that he painted a watercolor on a given theme for Gropius' birthday; that he made salable works during the Revolution; and that he felt forebodings of the First World War, to

Some of these comments and most of the historical allusions are not decisively placed background touches but rather decorations on the frame. Frequently they proliferate and often are esoteric. They are not closely and convincingly related to the problem of the painting, but like the flourishes of a magician's wand, hypnotize the observer away from facts. The twice-repeated statement that Kandinsky was fond of Buster Keaton (pp. 200 and 215) is amusing. Others are rendered empty by their vagueness. For instance, in discussing Lake (Boat Ride) (CC 41) on page 108, Grohmann writes: "It tells a story in the manner of certain old Russian

legends, such as may be found in *Prince Vladimir's Round Table*, a collection of legends about the Swedish Variags in Kiev c. 1000 A.D. In mood it suggests Tristan, while its style is that of a medieval tapestry."<sup>5</sup>

Iconographically, Grohmann's position is as ambiguous as Kandinsky's. Though we all agree that purely pictorial matters are paramount, the figurative suggestiveness of the paintings is both haunting and inescapable. We should now be beyond the stage of apologizing for seeing "things" in Kandinsky's works. Yet is it necessary to record exhibition chatter about the meaning of the configurations and then, in a spirit of defeatism, warn against the attempt to order systematically "the elements out of which Kandinsky formed the great organism of his art" (p. 218)? The secret of the forms and its relationship to the purism of aesthetics remains a major historical problem.

The book is full of keen judgments. The author convinces us that Kandinsky was aiming at nonobjective painting prior to 1910. When it was realized shortly thereafter, it "evoked a color space of a kind that has never existed before." The colors used during the Paris period certainly were unique in Western art. He reminds us of Kandinsky's disinterest in politics, his "philosophical humor," which found expression in the paintings from the late 1920's on, and the way in which practice preceded theory. Grohmann understands Kandinsky the man as well as, if not better than, anyone else. He has lived for a long time with the artist's writings and has a gift for summarizing difficult theoretical

material.

Some of the mistakes of the book are not the author's fault. The translation by Norbert Guterman leaves much to be desired. The proofreading was less than casual and the list of *errata* scarcely corrects the situation.<sup>6</sup> Problems of simultaneous publication in various languages must be responsible for having changed the reproduction on page 80 from its proper contextual position on page 65, where it is to be found in the German edition. In the American edition the biographical summary has been abridged and the handy marginal page headlines eliminated. The bibliography and exhibition list have been cut down for economy—strange folly for a book of such proportions! Illustration is lavish and

3. The author contradicts himself on p. 217, when, in borrowing Degas' description of painting as the result of "computing operations," he claims Kandinsky would insist on a minimum of five per cent to the role of intuition—which would hardly make for the classic balance.

4. The author asserts on p. 35 that we have no documentary evidence registering Kandinsky's interest in art movements around 1900. This is not true. In 1902 he wrote a perceptive review of several German exhibitions for *Mir Isskustva* (No.

1-6), p. 96.

5. Allusions can be more precise than this. To illustrate, let us consider the ten sketches for the cover of the Blaue Reiter almanac (CC 672-681). They all show a horseman with an unusual scarf-like affair, soaring upwards over a field of turbulence. The magic handkerchief is one of the few motifs unique to Russian fairy stories. It was used by Prince Ivan to cross the fiery river after stealing the magic steed from Baba Yaga during his effort to regain his beautiful queen, Marya Morevna, from Koschai the Deathless. Kandinsky has used the motifs of

the magic steed, the magic handkerchief, and the fiery river to suit his purposes. Or consider the late painting Isolation of 1944 (CC 528). Here we see a frightened figure seated against horizontal strips of darkness. He is connected with the light area containing quasi-radio sets by an ear-like shape. This must refer to Kandinsky's secret listening to Allied radio broadcasts during the occupation of Paris. Finally, if Kandinsky thought so highly of his Composition VIII, would it not be more to the point to spend less time quoting Thomas Mann and more time accurately analyzing both the preparations for this painting and its fantastic spatial manipulations?

6. The misdating of the Cologne Sonderbund exhibition

(p. 69), the appearance of cubism (p. 81), and the first abstract watercolor (p. 124) are a few examples. The claim on page 111 that The Hague watercolor "must date from 1911" appears to be a contribution of the translator, for the German text reads, "und später sein dürfte." The illustration for this

work on page 95 gives 1913 as the date.

ingeniously arranged. As is to be expected, one major work is reproduced upside down (p. 301). It is a pity that no one thought of providing a key to the correct reading of the color plates, since the signatures are usually too small to indicate which is the bottom of the painting.

The author is directly responsible for other faults. Matisse's Bonheur de vivre was shown at the Indépendants in 1906, not in 1907 (p. 48). The second, or 1909, version of the Blaue Reiter was übermalt, not lost (p. 51). The St. Cloud paintings of 1907 cannot be significant since there are none extant from that year (p. 51). Composition VI has been reproduced in color (p. 119). The confusing of Composition II with its study is Grohmann's fault, not Kandinsky's (p.

120).8

The Catalogue of Works presents to the public for the first time Kandinsky's House Catalogue of paintings, small oil studies, and color drawings: it is a treasure house of information for students, collectors, art merchants, and museums. The fitting into these lists of known paintings or of lost paintings that were at one time in a given collection or exhibition catalogue, can offer, in instances prior to 1914, many challenging problems. The cataloguer can be thrown into a false sense of security by the House Catalogue or by the inscriptions on the backs of panels (often by an unknown hand). Consider, for example, the important painting of 1902, Old City (KK-12, CC-3). There is no guarantee that the painting in the nachlass is the KK-12 since the House Catalogue does not give the dimensions and the canvas has no affirming information on the back. If we compare this work with the Old City exhibited with the Society of Moscow Artists in St. Petersburg in 1904 and reproduced in Mir Iskusstva (1904, No. 4, p. 142), it appears from the style of the two paintings that Grohmann has unknowingly substituted a study work for the finished version, which is

The problems of dating are far more acute for the Supplement items, the watercolors, and the drawings, though Grohmann's dates in this area are usually as firm as ever.9 The Catalogue of Works should have had an explanation of the dubious data upon which many of the dates and titles rely.

This issue is not academic. For example, none of the numerous drawings and watercolors for Composition VII in the Münter bequest is dated except in Grohmann's Catalogue of Works. Since it is reasonable to expect a flood of such studies during the year that the painting and its oil studies were being realized, let us assume Grohmann to be correct. If we do so then we are faced with the embarrassing task of explaining With the Red Spot of 1911 (CC 684) and the famous First Abstract Watercolor of 1910,10 both of which are signed and dated on the front. Apparently these two watercolors were the only items concerned with the preparation of Composition VII that Kandinsky received back from Gabriele Münter in 1926. They were entered in French on the first page of the House Catalogue of watercolors, a listing which began with German titles around 1919. In other words they were entered after 1933, the year Kandinsky came to Paris and began using French titles. The two works, together with En cercle of 1911-which is tucked in with French title on the third page of the House Catalogue are signed "Kandinsky" and dated. All the rest of the known watercolors and drawings of 1913 (with one problematical exception) are undated, and when signed, simply done so with a "K" enclosed in a triangle. Consequently, I suspect that the First Abstract Watercolor and With the Red Spot were signed and incorrectly dated sometime after 1933. This was done in good faith by the artist, who, having been separated from a large portion of his own work for many years, had few works from the Munich period to which he could refer. This line of reasoning which would argue for a ca. 1913 date, is confirmed by the style of the two watercolors.

Professor Grohmann is a genial and gifted journalistbiographer who has given us a valuable book. The need for something of this scale on Kandinsky justifies the book and helps us to overlook its shortcomings.

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7. Cf. page 41 of the 1918 edition of Rückblicke. We trust that this would make little difference, for judging from his color comments of both Composition VI and VII we must assume that the author has been allowed to see the paintings in Russia.

8. It is ungenerous to blame Kandinsky for having made this mistake in 1930. All publications reproduced Composition II correctly up until Grohmann's first little study of 1924 whereby the error was initiated. As late as 1956, he mistook the Guggenheim study for the final painting.

9. One instance where he approaches hesitation was in giving the Chanin's Rain Landscape a 1911/12 date. Under the illus-

tration on page 76 the date 1911 is favored. In other areas Grohmann's confidence will amaze specialists in the field. We are given no documentation to support the date 1895 as the year in which the important experience with Monet took place or that the painting involved was the Haystacks. And why must we believe Rembrandt's Sacrifice of Manoah (Dresden) is the other key painting of his early years? (p. 242)
10. Not listed in the author's catalogue. For some reason the

catalogue in the American edition contains five more watercolors than the German edition, but still overlooks the item

in question.

### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Sir:

Mrs. P. W. Lehmann's learned and provocative article in THE ART BULLETIN, XLI, March 1959, must have caused considerable surprise to students of late classical and Byzantine art. Among the monuments of Constantinople, few are as famous as the great equestrian statue that was erected in front of Saint Sophia by the Emperor Justinian. This statue was destroyed by the Turks over four hundred years ago, but several detailed descriptions of it enable us to reconstruct it with considerable accuracy. Above all, we possess-or so it has been thought until now-a Renaissance drawing of this monument which was discovered in 1864 in the Seraglio Library of Istanbul but transferred to Budapest in 1877. On the basis of this drawing several scholars have lately expressed the view that the statue was not of Justinian but of Theodosius I or II. Mrs. Lehmann goes one step further. She argues that the drawing does not represent the famous equestrian statue at all, but a lost gold medallion of Theodosius I. Her thesis is ably presented and supported by a wealth of documentation, some of which is both new and valuable. In spite of this, her claim of having put an end to a "comedy of errors" does not seem justified; indeed, far from having ended this "comedy," she has only succeeded in further embroiling it, as I hope to show in the following remarks.

Reduced to essentials, Mrs. Lehmann's line of rea-

soning is as follows:

I. There exist discrepancies between the drawing and the detailed descriptions of the statue by Procopius, Pachymeres, and Nicephorus Gregoras. Some of these discrepancies may not be too serious: for example, Procopius states that the horse's hind legs were held close together, whereas on the drawing they are not; Nicephorus Gregoras specifies that the rider's mantle was adorned with stars, flowers, and branches, but these are not shown on the drawing, etc. There remains, however, one essential difference: both Procopius and Pachymeres state that the rider's headdress was a helmet, while the drawing shows a jewelled diadem surmounted by peacock feathers. In Mrs. Lehmann's opinion, any attempt to equate the two headdresses "is doomed."

2. The inscription FON GLORIAE PERENNIS THEO-DOSI is not a later addition to the drawing but is contemporary with it. This inscription would have been inappropriate on a statue of the Emperor Justinian; it would have been invisible from the ground, given the enormous height of the column; and it can only be explained as a monetary legend.

3. There exist bronze coins of Theodosius I, issued between 392 and 395, which bear an equestrian figure of that Emperor similar in many respects to the Budapest drawing. The most striking point of resemblance is

the disproportionately big right hand.

1. De aedificiis, 1, ii, 9.

4. The Budapest drawing could not have been copied from the bronze coins, but it probably reproduces a lost gold medallion which bore the inscription GLORIAE PERENNIS THEODOSI. The word FON is a misunderstanding of the mintmark con (Constantinopolis).

5. The lost medallion probably commemorated Theodosius' victory over Maximus in 388. On the same occasion an equestrian statue of Theodosius with one arm raised was set up in the Forum Tauri of Constantinople. The medallion, and hence the drawing,

may thus be a reflection of this other statue.

Let us first consider the problem of the rider's head-dress, since this constitutes the point of departure of the whole argument. It must be admitted that Procopius speaks of a helmet (kranos), a plumed helmet, to be sure, since it appeared to be swaying. Procopius may have been right or wrong, or he may have been simply myopic; in any case, his statement made in the sixth century that the bronze emperor was wearing a helmet does not necessarily prove that this was the case in the fifteenth century. Of all the mediaeval descriptions of the headdress, the most detailed is that of Pachymeres (d. ca. 1310). It is rather surprising, therefore, that Mrs. Lehmann should not quote this description in full. Pachymeres, one of the most difficult and affected of Byzantine authors, describes the rider as follows:

"A man unfriendly to hirsuteness as regards the beard [i.e. beardless]; the hair of his head shorn over his brow, and behind not even reaching down to his neck, so that he appears to take pleasure in the cropping of hair. But of what kind is the kranos on his head which does not cover it at all [or does not cover anything] and adorns the wearer? For it neither lies in breadth nor is it shaped in a round form, but where it touches the head it appears to be a crown (stephanos), evenly encircling the temples and the brow. From here upward, it gently extends in size and reaches up to a great height, forming golden feathers for the head."

This description, I submit, is perfectly applicable to the Budapest drawing, so that the chief basis for Mrs. Lehmann's further arguments is invalidated. One may wonder, of course, why Pachymeres uses the word kranos. Perhaps he understood it in the general sense of "covering" (which is attested); on the other hand, he may have simply borrowed it from Procopius, whom he seems to have used, as also suggested by his reference to the "Achillean garb." Whatever reason we may give for the use of this misleading term, it is clear that around 1300 the statue of the Augusteum did not have a normal plumed helmet, like the one shown on Justinian's lost medallion, but a stephanos which encircled the temples and brow, but did not cover the head. I should also like to call attention to Constantine Rhodius who, in the tenth century, speaks of a "golden crown and a strange crest" (χρυσοῦν στέφος φοροῦντα καὶ λόφον

1220; Banduri, Imperium Orientale, Paris, 1711, I, lib. vi, p. 116 D-E.

<sup>2.</sup> Along with Nicephorus Gregoras, Bonn ed., 11, pp. 1219-

ξένου),3 and to Harun-ibn-Yahya (end of the ninth or early tenth century) who says that the statue had on its head a golden "crown" adorned with pearls and rubies.4 That the statue's headdress was surmounted by peacock feathers is attested in 1403 by Clavijo ("vn plumaje muy grande enla caueça, asemejança de cola de pauón").5

How then are we to explain the discrepancy, if such exists, between Procopius and the later authors? The easiest explanation would be that the headdress was altered in the intervening period. We know that the statue's headdress, called toupha by the Byzantine chroniclers, fell down in the reign of Theophilus (829-842) and was put back in place by a bold steeple jack.6 A bronze object that fell down from a height of over a hundred feet would have been seriously damaged if not completely shattered, so it is reasonable to suppose that it was patched up and possibly altered on this occasion.

A word should be said about the toupha. Mrs. Lehmann states categorically that this word denoted the plumed helmet and not the plumed diadem, and she refers to Grabar and to Kollwitz.8 Neither of these authorities, however, gives any grounds for this contention for the simple reason that we do not possess a sufficiently precise definition of the term toupha. All we can state is that the word toutha (which also meant a tuft of hair used to decorate horses and military standards) was used synonymously with tiara, and that it was a plumed headdress reserved for imperial triumphs. The confusion is probably due to Grabar who, commenting on Justinian's lost medallion, says, "Ce casque est peut-être la 'toufa' persane introduite à Constantinople par Justinien (Tzetzès, VIII, 305)."10 This is repeated by Mrs. Lehmann. Tzetzes, however, does not say that the toupha was introduced by Justinian; what he says is this: "The tiara was a Persian headdress. Later, our emperors, in their victories, placed on their heads the tiara or toupha, such as the one worn by Justinian's equestrian statue, on top of the column."11 In other words, the statue had a toupha on its head, and the toupha is defined as the kind of headdress worn by this statue. Hence the use of this term in connection with the equestrian statue cannot be made to prove that it was surmounted by a plumed helmet and not a plumed diadem.

We may now turn to the numismatic argument. As has been said, Mrs. Lehmann postulates a lost gold medallion of Theodosius I bearing on the reverse the legend GLORIAE PERENNIS THEODOSI and the mintmark con. But such an inscription will not do, and

Mrs. Lehmann fails to provide any pertinent parallel. The difficulty is not with the genitive Theodosi, but the genitive gloriae perennis. I am unable to find in the indices of Gnecchi, Cohen, and other standard works a single medallion or coin which gives the name of an abstract virtue or quality in the genitive. Gloria perennis Theodosi would be a possible, if unique, numismatic legend; 12 another possibility would be gloriae perenni (dat.), but certainly not gloriae perennis. So we must make this further emendation. Now I should like to list the assumptions, both explicit and tacit, that we have been forced to accept:

- We have been asked to postulate a lost and hitherto unknown medallion of Theodosius I.
- We have been asked to postulate that the mintmark CON was miswritten or misread as FON.
- We have postulated that gloriae perennis is a mistake for gloria perennis or gloriae perenni.
- We have been asked to postulate that Theodosius I was represented holding the globus cruciger, which he never does on his extant coins and medallions. True, the globus cruciger does appear on the coinage of Theodosius I, but it is held by a victory, not by the emperor. The earliest instance I know of the emperor holding the globus cruciger is on the coinage of Theodosius II.
- We have been asked to make the even more arbitrary assumption that Theodosius I was represented wearing a plumed diadem. Mrs. Lehmann insists on the difference between the plumed diadem and the plumed helmet, but she fails to provide a single instance of Theodosius I or any other early Byzantine emperor wearing the former.

But is this five-story edifice of assumptions necessary? Now any casual observer of the Budapest drawing is immediately struck by the position of the inscription. Surely, any normal artist or antiquarian, if he were copying a medallion, would have placed the inscription either in a circle around the figure or in the field. That he did not do so can hardly be due to lack of space, since a large part of the page is blank. Why then did the artist write the words PERENNIS and THEODOSI on the body of the horse? The only reasonable explanation, it seems to me, is that these words were in fact placed in that position on the artist's model. As for the words FON GLORIAE, these are in the field because they were on the other side of the monument, FON being presumably on the rump and GLORIAE on the neck of the horse. Hence the Budapest drawing does represent a statue, and this, as we shall see in a moment, was certainly the statue of the Augusteum.

<sup>3.</sup> Revue des études grecques, IX, 1896, p. 37, v. 44.

<sup>4.</sup> A. Vasiliev, "Harun-ibn-Yahya and his Description of Constantinople," Seminarium Kondakovianum, v, 1932, p. 160; M. Izeddin, "Un prisonnier arabe à Byzance au IXe

siècle," Revue des études islamiques, 1941-1946, p. 58. 5. Embajada a Tamorlán, ed. Francisco López Estrada, Madrid, 1943, p. 44.

<sup>6.</sup> Leo Grammaticus, Bonn ed., p. 227; Scriptores post Theophanem, Bonn ed., pp. 645, 808, and related chronicles.

<sup>7.</sup> L'empereur dans l'art byzantin, Paris, 1936, pp. 46f., 131. 8. Oströmische Plastik der Theodosianischen Zeit, Berlin,

<sup>1941,</sup> p. 13 n. 9.

<sup>9.</sup> Zonaras, Bonn ed., III, pp. 566-567, with reference to the triumph of Basil II over the Bulgarians.

<sup>10.</sup> Op.cit., p. 47 n. 1. 11. Historiarum variarum chiliades, ed. T. Kiessling, Leipzig, 1826, p. 293.

<sup>12.</sup> The formula gloria perennis is unknown to Roman numismatics. Even the word perennis is hardly ever found on coins and medallions, and does not occur in the reign of Theodosius I.

Mrs. Lehmann does not fail to quote the remarkable passage, previously published by Gerola and duly noted by Kollwitz, that is found in three manuscripts of Buondelmonti's *Liber insularum archipelagi* (Hamilton 108, now at Marburg, and Marc. Lat. Cl. x, 124, both in Latin; Vat. Ross. 704, Italian translation). In the Hamilton manuscript the text is as follows:

"Extra igitur ad ecclesiam ad meridiem columpna LXX cubitorum alta videtur cuius in capite Theodosius eneus equester habetur et pomum cum leva tenens ad orientem cum dextra minatur et usque ad hodiernum fuit oppinio ut esset Iustinianus sed capto ordine ascendendi ad verticem ipsius columpnae visum est scriptum in ipso homine et equo eneo esse Theodosium."

In the Ross. 704 the relevant passage is as follows: "Et per fine allu di hodierno è stato opinione che quello que era incima della colonna fosse Justiniano imperatore, ma con ingegno fo salito incima de quella et fo conosciuto esser Theodosio per lettere scripte et sculte nellu cauallo."

In the same Hamilton manuscript as well as in the Marc. Lat. Cl. xIV, 45 the well-known bird's-eye view of Constantinople has been accordingly emended, so that the monument of the Augusteum is labeled *Theo-*

dosius in equo eneo (or ereo).

In order to account for this evidence, Mrs. Lehmann suggests that the Budapest drawing (made, according to her, in 1454) circulated among the Venetians of Constantinople and was misinterpreted (as it was, once more, in the nineteenth century) as a picture of the famous statue outside St. Sophia. Consequently, a member of this Venetian circle "emended" Buondelmonti's text in the light of this "latest" piece of evidence. Now the Hamilton manuscript, as Mrs. Lehmann shows, belonged to the Venetian humanist and politician Antonio Venier, and was certainly written before 1481. This singular confusion must therefore have occurred very soon after the Budapest drawing was made, and presumably in Constantinople, since the Budapest codex is not known to have left that city until it was removed from the Sultan's Library in 1877.

But surely this is a most arbitrary explanation. If the Budapest drawing was known to the Venetians of Constantinople a few years after the Turkish conquest, and they regarded it as a copy of the equestrian statue of the Augusteum, the chances are that they were right. And when Buondelmonti's scholiast says that somebody had climbed to the top of the column and found the name of Theodosius inscribed on the horse and on the rider (which is not so on the drawing), the chances are that he means what he says. The medallion theory must therefore be rejected, and the Budapest drawing reinstated as a copy of the statue in the Au-

gusteum.

There do remain, of course, many difficulties, and I

do not pretend to be able to solve them all. The following, however, ought to be mentioned.

1. Mrs. Lehmann believes that had the inscription been on the statue, Nicephorus Gregoras would have mentioned it. Such an argumentum ex silentio does not carry much weight, especially as the Byzantines had very little interest in Latin inscriptions. It is also of no significance that Gyllius (1544-1550) does not mention the inscription, since he saw the statue after it had been broken up for melting, and examined its disjecta membra hurriedly and surreptitiously.<sup>14</sup>

2. The legibility of the inscription is, of course, an important consideration. No one will dispute that after the statue had been set up on Justinian's pillar, a pillar that was at least 100 ft, high the inscription would

that was at least 100 ft. high, the inscription would have been invisible. But since the statue was certainly a re-used one (see below), this difficulty can be overcome, since originally the statue was probably placed on a low pedestal, in which case the inscription would

have been legible.

3. It is quite obvious that the Budapest drawing was made at close quarters, i.e. either by a person who was able to climb to the top of the column (which was not provided with an inner staircase), or after the statue had been taken down by the Turks. For lack of precise information concerning the Budapest manuscript, I am unable to discuss here the date of the drawing. May I say, however, that the meaning of the garbled notation on fol. 145°, Johannes Darius scripsit atramento nimphirii (?) per ipsum Kiriaco Aconitano ad scribendum adducto, remains rather obscure, and it does not appear to have been proved that this notation refers to the drawing on fol. 144". If, as Mrs. Lehmann believes, Giovanni Dario did the lettering on the picture which had been drawn by the hypothetical Nimphirius, 148 why did he choose to record this fact in a cryptic note placed two pages after the drawing? Be that as it may, the conjunction of the two names, Giovanni Dario and Cyriac of Ancona, does appear to show that the note was written in 1454. But was the drawing made in that year or was it copied from an older sketch, possibly one in Cyriac's possession? It should be noted that some twenty-five years before the Turkish conquest an opportunity did arise for climbing to the top of the column. Johann Schiltberger, who spent three months in Constantinople in 1427 or a little earlier, reports that the statue's orb had fallen. 15 This is confirmed by Pero Tafur in 1437-1438 who adds that "to secure that orb, and to fasten the horse with chains, to prevent its being blown down in the high winds cost 8000 ducats."16 Thus ca. 1430 some kind of scaffolding must have been erected around the column for the orb to be replaced, and this may well have coincided with one of Cyriac's earlier visits to Constantinople (a visit ca. 1430 is indeed documented). It may be that the

16. Travels and Adventures, trans. Malcolm Letts, London, 1926, pp. 140-141.

<sup>13.</sup> This suggests that the Buondelmonti scholion could not have been derived from the Budapest drawing. The two are probably quite independent of each other.

<sup>14.</sup> De topographia Constantinopoleos, Lyon, 1561, lib. II, cap. xvii.

<sup>14</sup>a. Incidentally, could not nimphirii be some kind of ink?
15. The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger, trans.
J. Buchan Telfer, London, The Hakluyt Society, 1879, p. 80.

Buondelmonti scholion refers to this occasion; but there may have been another opportunity for ascending the column shortly after 1453 if, as I believe is likely, the equestrian statue was removed by the Conqueror.

Unfortunately, our evidence is rather confused and contradictory regarding the removal of the statue. Mrs. Lehmann, on the strength of Hartmann Schedel's Nürnberg Chronicle, maintains that the statue was still standing in 1490. Several other authors, however, among them Babinger, 17 have stated that the statue was taken down by Mehmed II. The latter view is a priori the more likely. It is true that the Sultan was very broad-minded as regards painting and sculpture and allowed, for example, the Serpent Column in the Hippodrome to remain standing, although he is said to have knocked off the lower jaw of one of the serpents' heads. The preservation of this monument, however, was certainly due to its being regarded as a talisman against snakes. The equestrian statue of the Augusteum was in a completely different category. Not only was it altogether too conspicuous as it towered beside the principal mosque of the city; it was also considered, as many travelers attest, a talisman of the Greeks against the Turks. It is interesting to note that on the very day of May 29, 1453, the victorious Turks affixed the head of Constantine XI to the column of the Augusteum,18 probably as an act of defiance against the talisman of the Christians. The removal of the equestrian statue by Mehmed II is furthermore confirmed by two sources: I. Angiolello, who remained a captive in Turkey from 1470 to 1482, reports that the bronze statue of "Santo Agostino" which stood on a column in front of the door of Saint Sophia was removed by Mehmed II on the advice of his astrologers who regarded this monument as a symbol of Christian power.19 There can be little doubt that Angiolello is speaking of our equestrian statue, the only one to our knowledge that was still standing on a column in front of Saint Sophia and which, as we have seen, was regarded to possess precisely that talismanic power that the Sultan's divines ascribed to it. And as for "Santo Agostino," this is an obvious slip for Augusteon, which was not only the name of the square in which the monu-

ment stood, but the name of the monument itself. To this Mrs. Lehmann replies that we should take Angiolello at his word, and that the statue he is speaking about was indeed that of St. Augustine. A statue of St. Augustine in mediaeval Constantinople? Allons donc! 2. The sixteenth-century Turkish historian Sa'd ed-Din writes as follows (I quote Garcin de Tassy's French translation): "Justin exécuta les dernières volontés de son oncle, et fit élever sur une colonne la statue du fondateur de Sainte-Sophie. Mahomet II la fit dans la suite disparaître, ainsi que les autres monumens de ce genre que l'on voyait à Constantinople; mais il laissa la colonne, qui subsistait encore il n'y a pas long-tems."20 It is quite true that after the removal of the statue the column remained standing for some time, and it is pictured on the view of the Hippodrome of ca. 1500 in Panvinio's De ludis circensibus.21 This is confirmed by Gyllius who states that the column fell down thirty years before his visit to Constantinople, i.e. ca. 1515-

Thus we have fairly good evidence for the removal of the statue by Mehmed II. But what of the Nürnberg Chronicle? The reader may be reminded that on fol. CCLVII the Chronicle reports, on the authority of certain Venetian merchants, that a terrible storm occurred in Constantinople on July 12, 1490. Lightning struck a statue of Constantine on a column but, miraculously, did not harm it ("Christiani id divine providentie attribuunt. Ubi antiqua columna ymaginem Constantini imperatoris habebat, fulgur et horridus impetus ne dum partem eius deiecit"). Eight hundred houses were burnt down and three thousand persons killed. A woodcut on the same page illustrates the extent of the damage and shows the equestrian statue of the Augusteum as it is struck by lightning. Several scholars, including Mrs. Lehmann and myself on a previous occasion,28 have taken this picture as evidence that the statue was still standing on its column in 1490. But there is reason to be skeptical. In the first place, the storm and conflagration of 1490 are described in about a dozen other sources, both Turkish and western, and none of these, insofar as they are available to me, mentions any statue.24 Instead, these sources state that the lightning

17. Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit, Munich, 1953, p. 506.

18. Ducas, Bonn ed., p. 300. 19. Jean Reinhard, Essai sur J.-M. Angiolello (Thèse présentée à la Fac. des Lettres de l'Univ. de Clermont-Ferrand), Angers, 1913, p. 167; cf. E. Jacobs in Byzantinische Zeitschrift, XXX, 1929-1930, p. 200 and note 2. Reinhard's edition of Angiolello (Besançon, 1913) is inaccessible to me.

20. Garcin de Tassy, "Description de la ville de Constantinople . . . traduite du turc de Saad-uddin," Journal asiatique, v, 1824, pp. 145-146. Reinhold Lubenau, who was in Constantinople in the eighties of the sixteenth century, states on the authority of the Greek Patriarch Jeremias II that the equestrian statue was broken to pieces by the Conqueror. The details of his story are admittedly fantastic, but this does not invalidate it completely (Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau, ed. W. Sahm, I, Königsberg, 1912, pp. 141-142). 21. Venice, 1600, pl. R, p. 61.

22. Loc.cit.

23. Revue des études byzantines, VII, 1950, p. 182 n. 5.

24. See A. M. Schneider, "Brände in Konstantinopel,"

Byzantinische Zeitschrift, XLI, 1941, p. 389; idem in Archäologischer Anzeiger, 1941, col. 302 n. 3, and 1943, col. 281 n. 1; J. von Hammer, Constantinopolis und der Bosporos, 1, Pesth, 1822, p. 448; idem, Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches, and ed., 1, Pesth, 1834, p. 637; Ibrahim Hakkī Konyalī, Istanbul Saraylari, Istanbul, 1943, pp. 18-19 (reproducing the pertinent passages of Aşikpaşazade, Sa'd ed-Din, Rüstem Paşa and the Müriyy-üt-tevarih); N. Iorga, Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades au XVe siècle, v, Bucharest, 1915, p. 192; L. Forrer, Die osmanische Chronik des Rustem Pascha, Leipzig (Türkische Bibliothek, 21), 1923, p. 20; W. Dilich, Eigentliche kurtze Beschreibung und Abriss dero weit berümbten keyserlichen Stadt Constantinopel, Cassel, 1606, p. 50; Evliya efendi (Celebi), Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa, trans. J. von Hammer, I, London, 1834, 20-21. J. Leunclavius, Historiae musulmanae Turcorum, Frankfort, 1591, col. 603.

Lubenau's account of the storm seems to be derived from the Nürnberg Chronicle, but he says that the monument struck by lightning was Constantine's porphyry column (op.cit., 1, pt. 2, 1914, p. 156).

struck a Byzantine church that had been turned by the Turks into a gunpowder magazine and was called Güngörmez kilisesi. Its dome was projected into the air with great violence. At the same time the quarter of Ishak Pasa to the southeast of the Hippodrome was burnt down. The testimony of the Nürnberg Chronicle thus appears to stand alone, which makes one wonder whether the miraculous preservation of "Constantine's" statue is not a pious fiction. Secondly, it must be remembered that Mehmed II died in 1481 and was succeeded by the bigoted and intolerant Beyazid II who would hardly have allowed a monument of this kind to remain standing. It seems to me, therefore, that the evidence available at present favors the view that the statue was removed by Mehmed II.

If this conclusion is correct, there was an excellent opportunity for Cyriac of Ancona, who enjoyed Mehmed's confidence, to have a picture of the statue made. But this is not essential for my argument. We have learned from Buondelmonti's scholiast that somebody did indeed climb to the top of the column and read the inscription, so that the sketch could have been made at the same time. We do not know on what occasion this ascent was made. The Latin phrase capto ordine ascendendi ad verticem ipsius columpnae is, unfortunately, rather obscure. Mrs. Lehmann translates this as "order had been given" ("received" would have been more accurate), but does it not rather mean "a method having been devised" (ordo in the sense of modus or ratio), as suggested by the Italian translation con ingegno fo salito?

The above evidence makes it clear that the inscription of Theodosius was on the statue of the Augusteum. This, of course, is very unusual, but not impossible, since there are other instances of inscriptions placed on antique statues.25 For example, the big bronze horse at Dumbarton Oaks has Sabaean inscriptions on its shoulder and rump.26 As to the wording of the inscription, I believe that Fon(s) gloriae perennis Theodosi or Gloriae fon(s) perennis Theodosi(us)27 are the most likely restitutions. The combination fons perennis is a very common one, and in the Thesaurus linguae latinae s.v. fons, one finds Cicero, Pro Milone, 34: fontem perennem gloriae suae perdidit. Furthermore, the formula fons perennis also occurs in the following inscriptions which Professor E. Kantorowicz has kindly called to my attention: CIL, III, 10462, 15184.24 (p. 2328.192); cf. p. 2328.172 ad n. 13276.

The Theodosian inscription is proof positive that Justinian re-used an older statue. This conclusion is by no means startling since it has already been expressed by several scholars, 28 and is based on no less an authority than Malalas. The latter, it is true, states that Justinian made use of an equestrian statue of Arcadius which had stood at the Forum Tauri on a low altar-shaped pedestal,29 but he may have easily confused Arcadius with either of the two Theodosii. Whether our statue belonged to Theodosius I or II cannot be decided with complete assurance.30 If, however, Malalas is right in stating that it came from the Taurus, we may suggest that our statue was of Theodosius II, and this for the following reason: the equestrian statue of Theodosius I is known to have stood at the Taurus until after the tenth century (since it is described by Constantine Rhodius), hence it is rather unlikely that the same emperor should have erected two equestrian statues of himself in the same place. 81 Perhaps our statue was one of the equites magni duo mentioned by the Notitia urbis in the Seventh Region.32 I may add that some time in the 1930's was found, at a distance of about 300 m from the Forum Tauri, a fragment of a large marble pedestal inscribed with the name of Theodosius and remains of a bilingual inscription. The scholars who published this object suggested that the lettering was of

25. See, for example, Pausanias, v, xxvii, 8.

26. See A. Jamme in Dumbarton Oaks Papers, VIII, 1954,

pp. 317-330.

27. If the inscription was meant to read downward, the word gloriae, presumably placed on the neck of the horse, would have come before fon(s), placed on the rump. I owe this suggestion to Prof. E. Kitzinger.

28. To Mrs. Lehmann's abundant bibliography add R. Guilland in Έπετηρις Έταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών, XVIII, 1948, pp. 155-161. Prof. Guilland is also of the opinion that Justinian re-used a statue of Theodosius II.

29. Malalas, Bonn ed., p. 482. 30. In this connection Mrs. Lehmann lays great emphasis on the bronze coinage of Theodosius I bearing on the reverse the emperor's equestrian figure. I fail to see the significance of these coins, since the same type of imperial portrait occurs with minor variations on the medallions and coins of Constantine I, Constantius II, Valentinian I, Valens, Valentinian II, Arcadius, Honorius, Marcian and even Justin I. As for the disproportionately big right hand, the emperor's ingens manus, this, far from being a distinctive characteristic of Theodosius I, is a commonplace of imperial iconography. See, for example, H. P. L'Orange, Studies in the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World, Oslo, 1953, pp. 139ff.

31. I do not wish to discuss here the complicated problem of the equestrian statue or statues of the Forum Tauri. It should be pointed out, however, that Mrs. Lehmann's treatment of this subject is open to criticism. Byzantine authors describe an equestrian statue of Theodosius I with one arm raised, pointing to his triumphal column (I shall call this A), and an equestrian statue with right arm also raised, holding a bronze orb in the left hand, which stood in the middle of the Forum Tauri, and was believed by the common people to represent either Joshua or Bellerophon (I shall call this B). The question is whether A and B are one and the same. Mrs. Lehmann says that they are not, because statue B had a kneeling barbarian beneath one foreleg of the horse (she must have thought of the familiar calcatio theme). But this is not so. The figure of the barbarian, which was a magical statuette pierced with a nail, was contained, strange as this is, within the left front hoof of the horse and was invisible, on the express testimony of Nicetas Choniates (Bonn ed., pp. 849, 858). Furthermore, if A and B are not the same, there is no reason to believe that A (the supposed prototype of Mrs. Lehmann's supposed medallion) held an orb in his hand; because the texts mentioning the fall of an orb in the earthquake of 477 (Theophanes, ed. De Boor, p. 126; Cedrenus, Bonn ed., 1, p. 618; Leo Grammaticus, Bonn ed., p. 118) refer not to the statue of Theodosius, but to that of Constantine-Helios in Constantine's Forum. When Byzantine authors speak of δ φόρος without further qualification, they invariably mean Constan-

32. Notitia dignitatum, ed. O. Seeck, Berlin, 1876, p. 235.

the period of Theodosius II, and that this base may have supported one of the equestrian statues of the Taurus.<sup>88</sup> Could this have been the discarded base of the statue

that Justinian moved to the Augusteum?

To sum up, we have almost contemporary evidence that Justinian appropriated to himself an equestrian statue of the Theodosian period, and we have fifteenth-century evidence that an inscription of Theodosius was written on the statue of the Augusteum. Since such an inscription appears on the Budapest drawing which, furthermore, agrees in all essentials with the descriptions of the Augusteum statue, we are surely justified in concluding that it does in fact represent that statue, and not a lost medallion of which nothing whatever is known.

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SIR:

In replying to Mr. Cyril Mango's letter rejecting my interpretation of the Budapest drawing as a copy of the reverse of a lost medallion of Theodosius I, itself probably a reflection of that Emperor's equally lost equestrian monument in the Forum Tauri, and to his counterproposal that, on the contrary, this drawing reflects Justinian's lost equestrian statue in the Augusteum, a statue originally representing Theodosius II,1 I shall confine my remarks to the three major premises on which both his objections to my theory and his support of his own rest: first, his conviction that the headdress worn by the Budapest rider tallies in appearance with Pachymeres' description of Justinian's headgear and was placed on the head of the earlier statue in the ninth century when its original headgear, a helmet, became damaged; second, his statement that the inscription on the drawing cannot reflect a numismatic legend since that legend would be both unique and cast in the genitive case; third, that this text is to be explained as an honorary inscription actually present on and running around both sides of the horse.

Mr. Mango launches this extraordinary explanation with the hesitant comment that the presence of an inscription on an ancient statue would be "very unusual, but not impossible" and cites in support of his suggestion two examples, the bronze horse at Dumbarton Oaks with inscriptions on its shoulder and rump and a single reference to such an inscription in Pausanias. Far from being unusual, the practice of inscribing statues and statuettes was widespread in antiquity as a cursory glance at the several dozen preserved examples in

Reinach's incomplete Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine attests. Especially popular in archaic Greece and Etruria, such inscriptions continued to be applied to sculptures for centuries as random reference to such famous examples as the Nikandra of Delos, the Hera of Samos, and the youth from the Helenenberg will remind the reader. But these inscriptions, like those on the two examples cited by Mr. Mango, invariably fall into one of three categories. They are either votive, i.e., dedicatory inscriptions, artists' signatures or marks of ownership, whether public or private. The inscription Fon(s) gloriae perennis Theodosi or Gloriae fon(s) perennis Theodosi(us), the two forms preferred by Mr. Mango, would obviously fit none of these categories, belonging, instead, to a fourth group, that of the honorary inscription. But, again, among the thousands of honorary inscriptions for public monuments that have come down to us from antiquity not one is to be found on a statue nor, conversely, do any of the numberless preserved honorary statues, including imperial portraits, bear such an inscription in any save one standard place—the base. Quite understandably, Mr. Mango provides no genuine analogy to his hypothetical imperial horseman inscribed with an honorary text, mind you, not on one but on two sides—so that even in its "original" low position, this important feature of the statue could have been grasped only by a spectator walking entirely around it2-because none exists. His theory is completely untenable.

Mr. Mango was evidently driven to this unfortunate solution by his previously mentioned views regarding the character of the Budapest rider's headgear and his negative opinion concerning the possibility of establishing convincing connection between the drawing and an imperial medallion. Granting that in his primary description of Justinian's statue in the Augusteum Procopius characterizes its headdress as a plumed helmet, a term not applicable to the plumed diadem which forms so conspicuous a feature of the Emperor's appearance in the drawing, Mr. Mango quotes Pachymeres' description of Justinian's headgear in the fourteenth century, finds it "perfectly applicable" to the Budapest drawing which, in his opinion, represents the statue in the Augusteum and concludes that an alleged but actually nonexistent discrepancy between the reports of these two prime witnesses can be resolved by the assumption that the original headdress was altered or, it would be more accurate to say, replaced, given the divergence between a helmet and a diadem. Since Mr. Mango does not quote the text of Pachymeres' complicated description and his interpretation of it is open to question, I include it and a variant translation of it

33. K. Bittel and A. M. Schneider in Archäol. Anzeiger, 1940, cols. 590-591.

2. In suggesting that the words FON GLORIAE were written

on the rump and neck of one side of the horse as PERENNIS and THEODOSI were on the other, Mr. Mango has overlooked the formal implications of his proposal. Either FON GLORIAE would have had to be written retrograde—which he surely cannot intend to imply—or they should be transposed, the former to the neck, the latter to the rump, that is, to positions in reverse of those suggested. Yet, in this case, they would no longer follow what Mr. Mango evidently regards as the implications of their position in the drawing.

<sup>1.</sup> Mr. Mango kindly informs me that his statement: "On the basis of this drawing several scholars have lately expressed the view that the statue was not of Justinian but of Theodosius I or II" does not refer to views expressed in print—apart from the deliberations regarding Justinian's possible reuse of an earlier monument cited in the notes to my article.

(for which I am indebted to my husband) for the reader's benefit.

οἷον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς κράνος, ὡς μηδὲν ἐπικαλύπτειν, καὶ τὸν φοροῦντα κοσμεῖν. οὐδὲ γὰρ κατὰ πλάτος ἐπίκειται · οὐδέ γε κατὰ κύκλον ἀποτετόρνευται · ἀλλὶ ὅσον μὲν ἐγγίζει τῆ κεφαλῆ στέφανος εἶναι δοκεῖ, κροτάφους περιγράφων ἐξ ἴσου καὶ μέτωπον · τὸ δὶ ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἄνω, ἠρέμα κατὰ μῆκος ἐκτέταται, καὶ ἐς πολὺ φθάνον, πτερὰ τῆ κεφαλῆ

χρυσαυγή γίνεται.8

"And of what kind is the helmet on the head which does not conceal anything and adorns the wearer? For neither does it lie on it (the face) sidewise (i.e., it lacks the customary cheekpieces) nor does it encircle the head (i.e., it does not project beyond it) but where it touches the head it seems to be a crown (i.e., actually it is not one) outlining equally the temples and the forehead. But from here on and upward, it (the helmet) gradually extends in length and where it reaches to a considerable (height), there grow gold-shining feath-

ers on the top." This description of a helmet lacking cheekpieces or brim, sprouting feathers from its crown and adorned around the forehead with a diadem (stephanos) is as literal a description of the plumed helmet worn by Justinian on the great lost gold medallion (my figure 8) as one could conceive. By the same token, it is quite inapplicable to the plumed diadem of the Budapest drawing which is decidedly not a crested helmet surmounting a diadem. The descriptions of Procopius and Pachymeres tally exactly not only with each other but with the evidence of Justinian's lost medallion indicating, on the one hand, the nature and appearance of the Emperor's toupha, whether on his statue in the Augusteum or on the medallion and, on the other hand, that the toutha was clearly not the low circlet that serves as the base for the crown of swaying peacock feathers depicted in the Budapest drawing.

But, Mr. Mango suggests (repeating a theory proposed some years ago by Kollwitz for which see note 12 of my article), the original toutha fell and was replaced in the ninth century, presumably after having incurred damage and, evidently, such radical alteration as to have been converted from a crested helmet to a plumed diadem. The reader who pursues Pachymeres' description two sentences further than Mr. Mango's translation will, I think, be troubled by this proposal.

For he continues:

καὶ τὸ χρῆμα καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἢν ἀκέραιον ἀνέμου δέ ποτε πνεύσαντος ἐξαισίου, ῥιπτοῦνται δύο πτερά καὶ τότε μέγιστα πολλῷ τοῖς ὁρῶσιν ἐφαίνετο, ἢ καθόσον ὁρῶνται κοσμοῦντα τὴν κεφαλήν ἃ δὴ καὶ ἐς δεῦρο παρὰ τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ταμιείῳ ἀποτεθησαύρισται.

"And this object (the helmet) was in my time still complete but when once a sudden storm fell, two

feathers broke off and they seemed at that time extremely big to those who saw them in comparison with how they appear on top of the head. And they are preserved even to this day in the treasury of the church."

Surely this is explicit testimony of the fact that in the fourteenth century the statue in the Augusteum still wore a plumed helmet, if a slightly battered or repaired one on which a few feathers were either lacking or replaced, and looked as unlike the Budapest drawing in late mediaeval times as it had in the sixth century. Pachymeres' description only serves to reinforce the discrepancy between the most detailed descriptions of Justinian's statue and the appearance of the Budapest rider. I repeat, any attempt to equate the two head-dresses is doomed.

Finally, Mr. Mango fails to see any cogent relationship between the Budapest drawing and numismatic iconography, between the total complex of iconographic type and inscription. The ingens manus, the disproportionately large raised right hand faced palm outward with exaggeratedly long fingers, we can agree is, of course, a commonplace of imperial iconography—that is, of representations in relief, whether sculptured or numismatic. But how are we to explain the troublesome discrepancy between the position of the Budapest rider's right arm, drawn sharply back behind the figure and Procopius' explicit statement: "And stretching forth his right hand toward the rising sun and spreading out his fingers, he commands the barbarian . . . to advance no further"?5 The statue in the Augusteum, like the Capitoline Marcus Aurelius and countless later equestrian figures extended its arm forward, a position of necessity modified by die-cutters quoting such statues on coins or medallions since its accurate representation, showing the arm cutting across the torso, rendered the image unintelligible at small scale. Innumerable examples of numismatic types based on statues which adjust the original monument to its new position and scale in a circular field are known from antiquity.6 The very presence of this tell-tale feature of numismatic design in the Budapest drawing would in itself almost suffice to reveal the nature of the draftsman's model as a coin or medallion rather than a statue. What possible motivation would impel a draftsman copying a colossal statue on a sizable sheet of parchment to introduce such a modification?

Be that as it may, Mr. Mango's primary difficulty in accepting my theory that the drawing reflects a lost medallion arises from the fact that the proposed legend, Gloriae perennis Theodosi, would be both unique and cast in the genitive case. But the uniqueness of the legend could almost be said to ensure the likelihood that it once encircled a medallion! The reverse legend of the great lost medallion of Justinian to which I have so often referred (fig. 8 and note 11 of my article) remains as unique as the medallion itself. Nor is it by

5. VII, 1, II, 12.

<sup>3.</sup> Published in Nicephorus Gregoras, CSHB, XIX, pp. 1219-1220, and in Latin translation by A. Banduri, Imperium orientale, Paris, 1711, I, p. 116.

<sup>4.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6.</sup> Cf., for example, my Statues on Coins of Southern Italy and Sicily in the Classical Period, New York, 1946, passim and especially, p. 55.

any means the sole example either of a unique legend or of a unique legend on a unique medallion. Here Mr. Mango's objections are groundless. His unwillingness to accept a genitive legend, however, is understandable and I am glad to take this opportunity to propose an alternative to my original suggestion.8 The legend on the hypothetical lost medallion of Theodosius I may either have read Gloriae perennis Theodosi, the text of the drawing, or Gloria perennis Theodosi. In the former case, the mistake Gloriae for Gloria is easily explained as one of the blundered legends to which I have already alluded (in notes 41, 42), blunders found, it will be recalled, even on such exceptional pieces as the much-cited lost medallion of Justinian. In the latter case, the text of the drawing is best understood as a reflection of someone's, probably Cyriacus', interpretation of an illegible mint-mark con as Fon (s) and a resulting modification of the original legend to render it more intelligible to a Renaissance interpreter whose occasional alteration of perfectly legible inscriptions is well established.10

But whether the inscription on the prototype of the Budapest drawing be understood as Gloria perennis Theodosi, Gloriae perennis Theodosi or, as Mr. Mango proposes without regard for the sequence of words on the drawing, Gloriae fon(s) perennis Theodosi(us) or Fon(s) gloriae perennis Theodosi, in no case can any of these terse honorary phrases have

7. Cf., for example, the unique legends on the gold and silver multiples in Harold Mattingly, C. H. V. Sutherland and R. A. G. Carson, The Roman Imperial Coinage, 1x (Valentinian I-Theodosius I by J. W. E. Pearce), London, 1951, pp. 122, no. 26, 174, no. 7 = Francesco Gnecchi, I medaglioni romani, Milan, 1912, I, p. 75, pl. 34, 15; on a medallion of Constantius II in Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee, Roman Medallions (Numismatic Studies, no. 5), New York, 1944, p. 182; on the bronze imitations or strikes of lost gold medallions of Gallienus in Gnecchi, op.cit., pl. 3, no. 2 (for the implications of this unique legend see, too, Toynbee, op.cit., p. 35) and Toynbee, ibid.; and the bronze medallion of Arcadius in Gnecchi, op.cit., p. 159 = J. Sabatier, Description générale des monnaies byzantines frappées sous les empereurs d'orient, reprinted ed., Leipzig, 1930, I, p. 101, no. 9. Given the existence of unique coins and medallions and of unique legends, Mr. Mango's opinion ex silentio that Theodosius himself never held the globus cruciger otherwise documented on his own coinage is not cogent.

It should be pointed out too, that the very division of

It should be pointed out, too, that the very division of Theodosius' name into the parts THEO-DOSI in the Budapest drawing is in accord with the practice, during his reign, of breaking the name of the senior emperor in numismatic legends as opposed to using unbroken legends for juniors. Cf. Pearce, op.cit., pp. VI, XXXVII, on this practice which suggests still another link between the drawing and numismatic usage.

8. The fact that several eminent numismatists have in principle accepted my suggestion that the Budapest drawing must reflect a lost medallion but have been troubled by the hypothesis of a genitive legend has led me to reconsider this issue. Yet I still wonder whether among the ambiguous legends that may

been inscribed on an actual statue whether of Theodosius I, II, or Justinian, original or reused, standing on a pedestal at ground level or mounted on a high column, since there is not the slightest scrap of evidence to suggest that any antique commemorative statue was ever inscribed with a phrase of this generic character. Justinian's lost monument in the Augusteum can never have borne such an inscription on the body of either horse or rider nor can it have served as the model of the Budapest drawing which in iconographic type, in gesture and legend remains best explained—I should go so far as to say only explicable—as a reflection of a lost medallion of Theodosius I.

Under the circumstances, it is needless to enter into a discussion of the various, complicated secondary issues on which Mr. Mango and I are at variance such as the post-Conquest history of Justinian's statue, his singular readiness to accept the Mirabilia-like tale of Choniates regarding the "Joshua" of the Forum Tauri, the relationship between the Budapest drawing and the emended texts and illustrations of Buondalmonti, to mention but a few. The interested reader must return to both our discussions—not simply to Mr. Mango's abridgment of mine—to evaluate their respective merits. I suspect that few readers will have so voracious an appetite.

PHYLLIS WILLIAMS LEHMANN
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equally well be genitive or dative or that appear in abbreviated form there may not be—or ultimately prove to exist—such genitive legends.

The fact that "The formula gloria perennis is unknown to Roman numismatics"—as I, too, have pointed out (p. 45)—is, again, an argument ex silentio. And Mr. Mango's concern over the infrequent appearance of the word perennis on coins and medallions, let alone its absence from them on extant examples from Theodosius' reign, is surely of little relevance given the occurrence of this word in the court language of the time—witness its appearance on the base of an equestrian monument of the Emperor's father, on the base of the obelisk in the Hippodrome and, coupled with the word gloria, in a poem by Ausonius (cf. my discussion, pp. 45f.).

9. Inasmuch as unique examples of bronze strikes after lost gold medallions are also extant (cf. Toynbee, op.cit., pp. 34ff.), it is theoretically possible that the model of the Budapest drawing was such a strike after a lost gold medallion. The illegibility of its mint-mark would be still more com-

monplace in this medium.

10. Cf., for example, Karl Lehmann-Hartleben, "Cyriacus of Ancona, Aristotle, and Teiresias in Samothrace," Hesperia, XII, 1943, p. 120 and pl. v, where he has replaced the perfectly legible but evidently unfamiliar term  $\mu\dot{\nu}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$  by the more familiar  $\mu\nu\sigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omega\nu$ . Note, too, apropos of the inscriptions in the Budapest drawing, his inaccurate placing of the crowns in the inscription, pls. IV-V.

11. If, as I assume, the pertinent phrase on both drawing and medallion is Gloria perennis, Mr. Mango's preoccupation

with the formula fons perennis is irrelevant.

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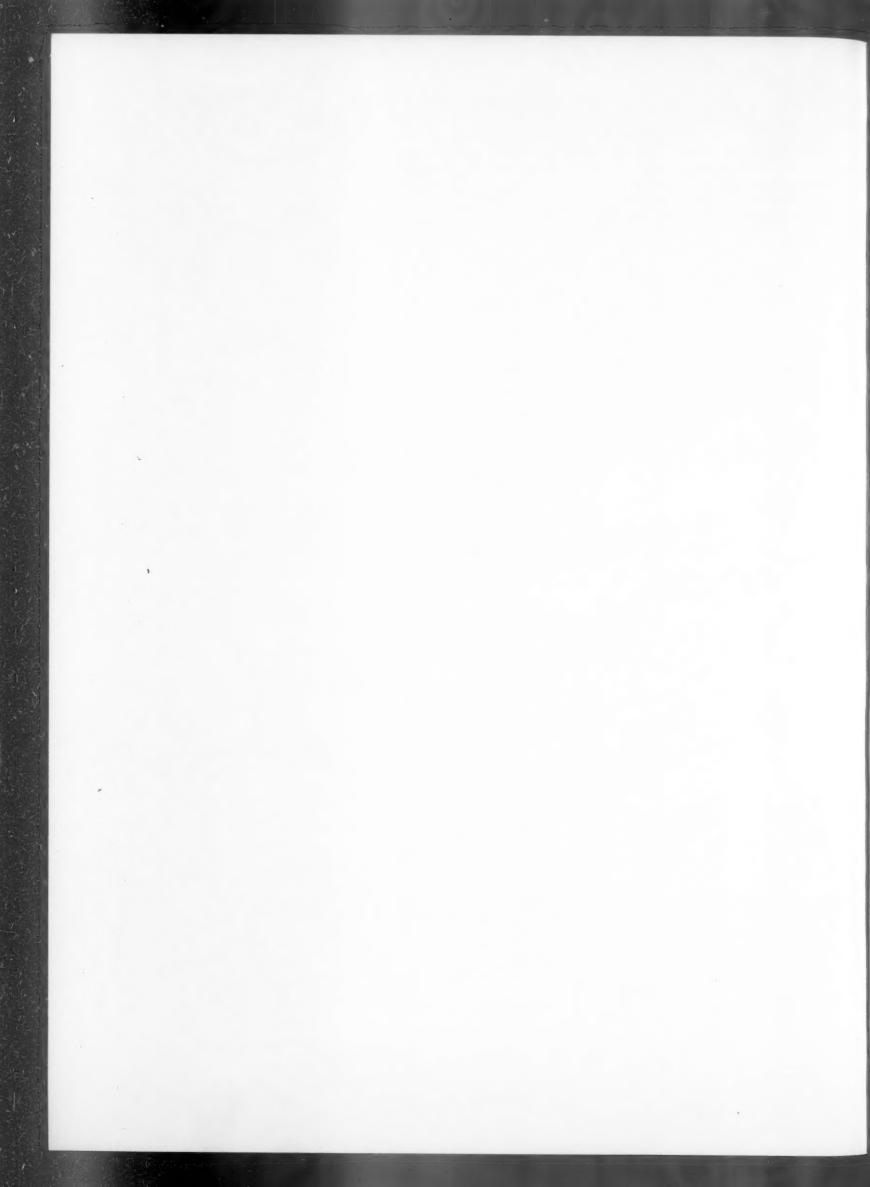
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